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Japaneseness, Mixedness and Anglo-Japanese Young People inside and outside Hoshk (Japanese Saturday School)

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**JAPANESENESS, MIXEDNESS AND ANGLO-
JAPANESE YOUNG PEOPLE INSIDE AND OUTSIDE
HOSHŪKŌ (JAPANESE SATURDAY SCHOOL)**

Catherine Lewis

**Submitted to King's College London in fulfilment of
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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Abstract

This thesis proposes a new ethnic formation in the UK: Anglo-Japanese (A-J). This formation refers to the growing number of young people with one White British and one racially Japanese parent residing in London and South East England. This thesis focuses mainly on the Japanese side of their ancestry which would seem to be underpinned by a pervasive ideological narrative called *Nihonjinron* (theories of the Japanese). This narrative sets out what it means to be Japanese. The underlying message is that Japan is both mono-racial and mono-lingual and only the so-called racially 'pure' Japanese permanently resident in Japan can master the intricacies of Japanese language and cultural practices. This issue is important for the Anglo-Japanese because although they are permanently resident in Britain, they are competent and active participants in a wide range of what might be called traditional Japanese practices, which would appear to contradict the message implied in the influential *Nihonjinron* ideology.

This thesis describes and analyses the cultural practices in which the A-Js engage at *Hoshūkō* (Japanese Saturday [complementary] school) as well as the dense network of traditional artefacts and associated regulatory practices with which they also engage outside *Hoshūkō*. This active and intense engagement with Japanese practices in a variety of settings both in Britain and in Japan is very similar to that of Japanese young people in Japan. This engagement not only inculcates the Anglo-Japanese with insider notions of traditional Japaneseness but also inadvertently reinforces the ideological narrative of *Nihonjinron*. This thesis, influenced by British Cultural Studies, uses an ethnographic perspective to suggest an addition to the development of new ethnicities in contemporary Britain: Anglo-Japanese ethnicities.

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Preamble

Before introducing my thesis, I feel it is important to make the following comments. I am aware that the concept of *Nihonjinron* is highly controversial in the Japanese community both inside and outside Japan. However, I want to point to two recent occurrences which give me the confidence to mention it up front in my thesis and to demonstrate how it is challenged by the extent to which the Anglo-Japanese can participate as significant insiders with strong versions of Japanese language and cultural practices. One is the winner of the beauty contest 'Miss Universe Japan' as reported by Shiori Ito (2015,) in the Japan Times¹ and by Rupert Wingfield-Hayes in BBC News² (2015). The winner describes herself as *hāfu* (half) because she is so-called half Japanese/half Black-American. Although she was born and raised in Japan, she is routinely treated as a foreigner due to her height and her bronzed complexion which are still considered to be somewhat unusual in Japan (Ito, 2015). She is routinely given menus in English because the assumption is she cannot speak Japanese (*ibid.*). Many people are uneasy about her representing Japan as they do not consider her to be Japanese (Wingfield-Hayes, 2015). This shows that there is still deep unease in Japan about those who claim to be Japanese but who cannot be easily accommodated within essentialist notions of Japanese.

The second occurrence was the publication of 'Rethinking Language and Culture in Japanese Education: Beyond the Standard', edited by Shinji Sato and Neriko Musha Doerr, which was first published in Japanese in 2008 and then published in English in 2014. According to Kubota (2014, p. 24) many people believe *Nihonjinron* to be out-dated so it has little relevance in the twenty-first century. Kubota (2014, p. 24) was even criticised for mentioning it at a symposium. However, many in this book, for example, Shinji Sato, Neriko Musha Doerr, and Hazuki Segawa, believe that an essentialist view of language and culture as referred to in *Nihonjinron* is still prevalent in Japanese society, and Japanese education not only in Japan but also overseas.

¹ Available from: <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2015/04/03/national/social-issues/multiracial-miss-japan-hopes-change-homelands-thinking-identity/#.VX1vUPIViko>

² Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-32957610>

Introduction

In this thesis I make a claim for the existence of a new ethnic formation for which I have proposed the term Anglo-Japanese (A-J) to describe young people with one White British and one Japanese parent living permanently in London and South East England. I argue that the existence of the A-Js in the UK would seem to challenge essentialist notions of ethnicity equating Japanese 'race', culture and language which seemingly underpin the pervasive ideological narrative of *Nihonjinron* (theories of the Japanese). However, although the A-Js may not look racially 'pure' Japanese³, they have had an intense and active engagement with traditional Japanese language and cultural practices. This thesis offers empirical evidence to demonstrate the extent to which the A-Js can engage with *Nihonjinron*-type traditional Japaneseness. I adopt a trans-disciplinary approach with, at the forefront an anti-essentialist cultural studies perspective, focusing on practices and participation rather than on a fixed biological notion of 'race'⁴. At the same time I draw upon sociology, sociolinguistics, education and Japanese studies. In 1988 Stuart Hall produced a paper, in the cultural studies tradition, on new ethnicities in the UK arena and since then there has been an attempt to challenge essentialist notions of ethnicity. Although Stuart Hall's paper was based on the experiences of black people of Caribbean descent, I place my research within this tradition as I am proposing the category of Anglo-Japanese as an example of new ethnicities in a UK context.

I initially came to this study as a result of an autobiographical experience. I, a White British woman, had a Japanese partner and together we had two sons (see chapter 3). Whilst being permanently resident in London and trying to raise my sons with an awareness of the Japanese side of their ancestry I noticed that they developed a strong sense of Japaneseness. My older son, Timothy, seemed to need to prove his Japaneseness through the acquisition of a Japanese passport. After having acquired his Japanese passport in 2007 he fervently stated, 'Now no one can say that I'm not Japanese'. At the time I wondered why he should need proof of his Japaneseness when his Britishness has never been an issue. I feel that this thesis goes a long way toward clarifying what the notion of Japaneseness might mean to a young person growing up not in Japan but in London and South East England.

³ From here on I will use the terms the Japanese or Japanese for ease of communication unless I want to stress the notion of racially 'pure' Japanese.

⁴ As is commonplace in the social sciences I have decided to use scare quotes around 'race' and 'mixed race' to highlight my unease at invoking the notion.

As a direct result of my autobiographical experience and being permanently resident in London, I also came to realise that I was part of the development of a new ethnic formation in the UK, which as previously stated, for the purpose of this thesis I have called Anglo-Japanese (A-J). I believe that the increase in the new A-J ethnic formation in Britain coincides with the childhood and adolescence of my two sons (see chapter 3). At the same time having strong links with Japan I came to notice that the existence of my sons, part English part Japanese, who could seemingly effortlessly converse with their Japanese relatives in Japanese, appeared to be somewhat remarkable to those with whom we came into contact in Japan. In an attempt to investigate this mixed ethnic formation in Britain I align myself with the renowned Japanese sociologist Yoshio Sugimoto (2014 p. 224) who stresses the need to thoroughly investigate 'the mixed-categories' who live outside Japan in order to understand who the Japanese are because previously, the focus has been on 'pure' Japanese and 'pure' foreigners⁵.

However, I am aware that as a White British female with an intermediate knowledge of Japanese there are many Japanese sources that my research has not directly consulted. In addition, I am conscious of the fact that depictions of Japan and the Japanese by outsiders can be critiqued (especially by *Nihonjinron* advocates) as not representing a truly Japanese perspective. One of the strategies of *Nihonjinron* theorists is to claim that Japan can only be researched from a Japanese *emic* perspective (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1995). According to Dale (1986⁶) such a perspective is 'consciously nationalistic, displaying a conceptual and procedural hostility to any mode of analysis which might be seen to derive from external, non-Japanese sources'. This suggests that only those who are 'pure' Japanese and who rely solely on 'authentic' Japanese sources, which are unlikely to have been translated into English (Sugimoto, 2014), can make a valid contribution to the literature on Japan. I, therefore, feel it is necessary to point out that although my thesis is based solely on literature published in English, I have drawn upon many internationally renowned Japanese analysts including Yoshino (1992); Befu (1992; 2001; 2009); and Sugimoto (2003; 2010; 2014). These analysts have critiqued *Nihonjinron* by consulting many Japanese (and English) sources to substantiate their claims. What is more, many so-called foreign writers on Japan whom I have drawn upon have also consulted Japanese sources. A

⁵ Sugimoto (2003 and 2010) uses the term 'straight' Japanese and foreigners which I have replaced with Befu's (2009) notion of 'pure'. This is due to the biological connotation of 'pure' which I believe is in line with the *Nihonjinron* ideology.

⁶ No page numbers are given in the introduction.

good example is Peter Dale who has read a great quantity of the *Nihonjinron* literature in the original Japanese (Stockwin⁷, in Dale, 1986).

Being a White British female, I offer the reader the following warrant for my research. My interest in Japan started in the 1980s and continues to 2015. I first became interested in Japan as a result of teaching English to Japanese businessmen in Japanese companies and to their wives in their homes in Birmingham, Telford, and Wales. It was at this time that I first started reading about Japan. I remember reading a book entitled, *The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity*, by Edwin O Reischauer, the leading Japanologist of his generation, who believed Japan to be the most culturally homogenous country in the world (Lie, 2001). It was also during this time that I met my Japanese partner which increased my fascination with Japan. We moved to Japan where we lived for approximately eighteen months. Having a Japanese partner enabled me to obtain a relative insider perspective of Japan, even though my Japanese language level was rudimentary. This was because I could visit Japanese family members in their homes and participate in mundane every day Japanese life. I worked in Japan as an English teacher and started to learn Japanese. Six months after my first son, Timothy, was born in 1989 we returned to London, England where I continued to learn Japanese.

In order to raise my son with some knowledge of his Japanese ancestry I totally immersed myself in the local London-based Japanese community (see chapter 3). All our friends were Japanese, as were most of my son's toys, books and clothes and the majority of the television programmes he watched. My second son, Richard, was born in 1997 and again I immersed myself in the local Japanese community. During this 25-year period of raising two Anglo-Japanese sons we travelled to Japan, on a two-yearly basis for a period of two to four weeks (totalling approximately 12 visits), and we visited friends and relatives in Tokyo, Kyoto and Saitama. We stayed at their houses; we went out together and participated in many child-centred activities. In London my two sons and I attended two different *Bunkō* (Japanese pre-school library groups) for approximately two years (four years in total). My two sons attended *Hoshūkō*⁸ (Japanese Saturday School) from 1996 to 2011 during which time I accompanied my sons to and from the school and I attended many events including graduation ceremonies and sports days.

⁷ Stockwin is the Director of the Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies, University of Oxford.

⁸ From here on I will use the Japanese term *Hoshūkō* rather than the English translation the Japanese Saturday School for ease of communication. I will use italics to highlight that it is a Japanese word as I will for all Japanese words.

In 2005 I wrote my MA dissertation on my sons' simultaneous use of Japanese and English and from September 2008 to July 2011 I conducted a piece of ethnographically informed fieldwork within a qualitative perspective on the Japanese ethnic formation both inside and outside *Hoshūkō* as part of this PhD thesis (see chapter 2). During my research period inside *Hoshūkō*, I met many different types of Japan-connected people of all ages. While working in the library for a total of 59 hours I came into contact with many Japanese mothers and fathers, White British fathers and Japan-connected pre-school and school children. I observed lessons by 6 different Japanese teachers for a total of 25 hours and 45 minutes. I conducted conversational interviews with 14 Japan-connected young people and 6 parents, 4 Japanese and 2 White British, and 5 Japanese teachers. I feel that although I am White British, I have been privy to what it means to be Anglo-Japanese living in London as I have spent a great deal of time as a single person, a parent and a researcher talking to and observing many different types of Japan-connected people in different contexts in the UK and in Japan.

However, I am not claiming that the knowledge I have accrued is the absolute truth, rather it forms part of a particular version of reality at specific moments in time. Undoubtedly as with any research method, a different moment in time may produce a different version of reality. Although it could be argued that some of my data may seem a little anecdotal and it may lack the scientific rigour of quantitative methods, I, like Lareau, believe that qualitative methods are more difficult to work with as they mean 'learning to live with uncertainty, ambiguity, and confusion' as there are no 'inviolable rules to follow-an SPSSX command to punch into the computer and let the results spill out' (Laureau, 1996, p. 198). I believe that an ethnographic perspective within a qualitative framework is the best way to capture the complexity of the everyday lives of the A-Js by analysing individual experiences rather than reducing such complexity to a set of numbers.

In order to avoid taking a strong Eurocentric perspective, I, following in the footsteps of Sugimoto, intend 'to be pluralistic regarding the use of *emic* and *etic* concepts' (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 32). I draw upon European *etic* concepts to:

avoid the assumptions of those who claim that Japan can be understood fully only with the application of Japan-specific conceptual yardsticks, as seen in the influential so-called *Nihonjinron* writings [...] (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 35).

Conversely, I draw upon Japanese *emic* concepts in an attempt to avoid using 'the *emics* of Western society [...] [which] have been elevated to the *etics* of the world's society [...] as the yardsticks by which to judge the non-Western world' (Kuwayama, 2009 p. 52). I want to avoid

following 'those social scientists who have sought to investigate the Japanese situation exclusively in terms of the concepts and rhetoric of Western social sciences' (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 35). This is because the outcome of both perspectives has been the same, the reification of a static biologically based notion of Japaneseness in line with the ideological narrative of *Nihonjinron*. Through focusing on the A-Js in London and South East England, and with the help of an anti-essentialist cultural studies perspective and Japanese *emic* concepts, I aim to not only investigate the extent of the A-Js engagement with traditional Japaneseness but also to highlight the limitations of the message implied in the influential *Nihonjinron* ideology.

I focus on traditional notions of Japaneseness not to reproduce essentialist *Nihonjinron*-type thinking but because I want to illustrate the ways in which the ideological narrative can pervade the everyday lives of the A-Js who are permanently resident in London and South East England. I also focus on traditional Japanese culture because it is this which is emphasised by the Japanese adults in the lives of the A-Js including their Japanese relatives and the teachers at *Hoshūkō*. A similar scenario would seem to be the case in Chinese Complementary schools as Li Wei and Wu (2010, p. 43) state, '[f]or the schools, the teachers and the parents, the emphasis seems to be on a rather static notion of Chinese cultural heritage that lasted for a very long time [...]'.

I have divided my thesis into seven main chapters. I argue the case for the existence of an Anglo-Japanese ethnic formation living permanently in this country. I demonstrate how the A-Js can seemingly align themselves with authentic Japaneseness which, contrary to the message implied in the *Nihonjinron* ideology, gives them a strong claim to Japanese insider status.

In chapter 1 I investigate the main tenets of the *Nihonjinron* ideology: 'race', culture and language to start to understand what it means to be Japanese within the confines of such a narrative. I argue that such an ideology is racial in nature, which does little to include the A-Js in its conceptualisations. I draw upon Japanese *emic* concepts of *tatemae* (political correctness) and *honne* (true feelings) (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 32) to demonstrate how it has been and still is possible for senior Japanese politicians to legitimise outwardly racial comments. I then turn to European theorisations to highlight the strong biological basis of *Nihonjinron* and to demonstrate that it is underpinned by such theories.

In an attempt to understand my A-J ethnic formation, I draw upon Stuart Hall's notion of new ethnicities to conceptualise Japanese ethnicity and mixedness in less essentialising ways than is currently the case in the *Nihonjinron* narrative. Next, I focus on the conceptualisation of 'mixed-race' in an American, Japanese and British arena to investigate the extent to which the A-J categorisation has been included. I come to the conclusion that in an American and Japanese arena a notion of Anglo-Japanese exists but in a British context there is little mention of such an ethnic formation.

In chapter 2 I outline the trials and tribulations of researching Japaneseness by operationalising an ethnographic perspective within a qualitative framework. The difficulty of using such a perspective is highlighted by the cross cultural context of *Hoshūkō* where I conducted my classroom observations. Gaining access to the site proved to be problematic as did gaining consent to observe classes so I demonstrate how I managed to overcome these problems. In order to justify my approach of focusing on the everyday lives of the A-Js by saturating the reader with descriptive accounts of the traditional Japanese practices with which they engage, I draw upon Highmore's (2002a; 2002b) notion of the everyday and Geertz's (1973) notion of thick description.

I have divided chapter 3 into two main parts. In the first part I shed some light on the Anglo-Japanese formation by giving an autobiographical narrative account of the upbringing of my two sons in a London context. I explore many of my sons' strong links with Japanese language and cultural practices in both London and Tokyo. I also demonstrate how being Anglo-Japanese in London, albeit against the backdrop of common racial stereotypes, gives young people choices regarding their ethnic affiliations. In the second part of chapter 3 I problematise the term the Japanese at *Hoshūkō* by using an anti-essentialist new ethnicities paradigm. This is in contrast to the *Nihonjinron* literature where this term has been used very loosely (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1995) and in a highly essentialist manner (Dale, 1986; Befu, 2009). I capture the complexities of Japanese ethnicities that exist at *Hoshūkō* by suggesting three main groupings: (1) Japanese-Japanese (J-J); (2) Japanese of Mixed-Ethnicities (JM-E) of which my A-J category forms part; and (3) Non-Japanese (N-J). At the end of this chapter I highlight that within a *Nihonjinron* theorisation the category of Japanese is descent based and those who do not have 'pure Japanese blood', including my A-J categorisation, tend to be largely excluded. What is more, I

highlight how all the above-mentioned ethnic formations challenge the essentialist notion of racially 'pure' Japanese to varying degrees.

I would like to point out that I am not categorising the young people at *Hoshūkō* because I think it is possible to put people into discrete boxes. I draw upon this method to discuss the complexity that exists within this ethnic formation following in the footsteps of the academics that helped devise the Census for England and Wales. However, my categorisations are more specific and nuanced as only one social grouping, the Japanese, is analysed. I realise that my categorisations are only approximations as they are largely based on personal observations and on my questionnaire responses. What is more, I realise that there is considerable overlap between the categories and some people may have been inadvertently placed in the wrong category. I also realise that my categorisations can be subdivided *ad infinitum* if other factors, such as gender, class, age and parental occupation, are taken into consideration. Although I believe the categorisation of people into distinct boxes to be deeply flawed, I have used this method to enable me to analyse the complexity of the notion of the Japanese that exists at *Hoshūkō*.

In the next four chapters I rely less on the experience of my two sons and I focus more on that of my research participants. In chapter 4 I explore the racial idiom because it is constantly applied to the Anglo-Japanese in my research in both Britain and Japan due to their ambiguous racial features. When the racial idiom is applied the A-Js encounter some problems. This is because when in England the implication for some is that they are Chinese and when in Japan they tend to be referred to as *hāfu* (half Japanese/half American), *Americajin* (American) or *gaijin* (foreigner). In Japan they also encounter disbelief from Japanese people who are evidently astonished that young people who do not look Japanese should be able to speak Japanese so well. I also illustrate how *Nihonjinron*-type beliefs would not only seem to permeate the wider society in Japan but also Japanese institutions in the UK.

In the next three chapters I investigate the affiliations of my research participants with traditional Japaneseness. These chapters highlight that when the racial idiom is relinquished and a practices and participation approach to ethnicities is adopted, the A-Js relatively strong claim to Japanese insider status can be uncovered.

In chapters 5 and 6 I turn to my research site *Hoshūkō*. In chapter 5 I analyse Japanese language and literacy practices at the London *Hoshūkō* and in chapter 6 I analyse the

institutionalised regulatory practices. In these two chapters I argue that although from a British perspective the practices at *Hoshūkō* appear to be somewhat out of place in a contemporary London setting, the A-Js would seem to be largely compliant with such practices and they have been actively engaging with them for a prolonged period of time.

In chapter 5 I link the language and literacy practices at *Hoshūkō* with mainstream state education in Japan because it is this which *Hoshūkō* tries to replicate in a contemporary London setting. I demonstrate, in line with a *Nihonjinron* line of thinking, that Japanese language education would seem to be somewhat essentialist in nature and the existence of two separate curriculums at one of the *Hoshūkō*: *kokugo* (for the racially 'pure' Japanese) and *nihongo* (for 'foreigners') would seem to support this claim. Although the *nihongo* curriculum is aimed at the A-Js, I found that many A-Js can participate in the language and literacy practices of the *kokugo* curriculum. I also investigated how all my nuanced ethnic formations can cope with the *kokugo* curriculum and I come to the conclusion that it is impossible to make assumptions about how Japan-connected young people can manage this curriculum based on essentialist approaches to ethnicity. In chapter 6 I also show that the *kokugo* curriculum is underpinned by various institutionalised regulatory practices both in the classroom and at events to which the parents are invited. In order to make sense of these practices, I mainly draw upon the notion of *aisatsu* (sociolinguistic, sociocultural and/or bodily practices) and Sugimoto's (2003) concept of friendly authoritarianism.

In chapter 7 I go beyond *Hoshūkō* to investigate and analyse traditional artefacts and their associated regulatory practices with which the A-Js engage in the Japanese home and in the wider community in Japan. I argue that the A-Js intense engagement with traditional Japanese artefacts and practices give them a relatively strong claim to Japanese insider status. I draw upon the notion of *uchi* (insider) and *soto* (outsider) to demonstrate how these concepts are used to demarcate the racially 'pure' Japanese from the racially 'impure' Japanese. I also demonstrate how the same conformist notions of Japaneseness underpinned by the ideological narrative of *Nihonjinron* are also represented through the storylines of two long-running *anime* (cartoon) series.

All in all, this thesis makes a strong claim for the existence of a new ethnic formation in London and South East England which I have called the Anglo-Japanese (A-J). It argues that due to their intense and active participation in a dense network of traditional Japanese practices in various

settings in London and South East England and in areas of Japan outside Tokyo they have a relatively strong claim to Japanese insider status. It demonstrates how in super-diverse twenty-first century London and South East England (Vertovec, 2007) the presence of the A-Js engaging with traditional Japaneseness exposes the limitations of the racial idiom as a reliable marker of ethnicity. I am aware that social and education systems of any modern nation state have been saturated with exclusivist racial assumptions, but in my thesis I limit myself to the Japanese case.

Chapter 1 Theorising Japaneseness

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter I argue that the ideological narrative of *Nihonjinron* portrays an essentialist notion of Japaneseness which does little to accommodate the A-Js living in urban settings in Britain. I do this by analysing *Nihonjinron*, which as mentioned in the introduction is a strong theorisation of what it means to be Japanese. The main concept that affects my A-J formation is that of uni-raciality (Yoshino, 1992) which has continued to frame many contemporary analyses of Japanese society in the 2000s (Sugimoto, 2014, p. 21). In order to conceptualise this notion of uni-raciality I will turn to specific European theorisations of ethnicity because:

Putting *Nihonjinron* in the category of ethnicity immediately offers myriad possibilities of analyzing *Nihonjinron* as a phenomenon common to other cultures. Such a discussion would help bring *Nihonjinron* out of the Japanological closet [...] (Befu, 2001, p. 13)

I am also using such theorisations to highlight that certain attributes that are considered to be unique to Japaneseness can actually be explained with European based theorisations, which highlights that 'race' is not limited to a European context (Dikötter, 1997).

In order to make sense of my Anglo-Japanese ethnic formation I place it within a new ethnicities frame as first suggested by Stuart Hall in the British cultural studies tradition; at the heart of its way of looking at ethnicity is envisaging it as intrinsically plural, unstable and open to change. I then investigate the notion of mixedness in an American, Japanese and British context to determine the extent to which the A-Js form part of this notion. I conclude that the notion of Anglo-Japanese exists to some extent in an American and Japanese context but in a British context there would seem to be little mention of such an ethnic formation.

Before embarking on my analysis of *Nihonjinron*, I will shed some light on the two main dominant sets of cultural forces which have been in play in Japan over the past twenty-five years and have coincided with the upbringing of my two sons (see chapter 3).

1.2 Dominant cultural forces in Japan

Over the past twenty-five years there have been two sets of competing dominant cultural forces in operation in Japan (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1995). The first set of forces was dominant in the 1970s to 1980s. It was directly linked to *Nihonjinron* (Yoshino, 1992; Sugimoto, 2014) and Japan

represented itself as racially and culturally pure (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1995). The second, more recent set of forces is linked to the Japan of the 1990s to 2000s (Sugimoto, 2014), and Japan represented itself as multicultural (Graburn and Ertl, 2008). However many analysts believe that although Japanese concepts such as *tabunka* (multiculturalism), *ibunka* (different cultures), *kyosei* (coexistence) exist (Burgess, 2004) and would seem to give the impression of a shift from the ideology of uni-raciality to an ideology of difference (Ertl, 2008), these concepts would also seem to implicitly maintain and reinforce the notion of uni-raciality (Burgess, 2004). In addition, Heinrich (2012a, p. 30) believes that '[t]he ideas underlying multicultural coexistence are exclusionary'.

With the decrease in the significance of national boundaries over the past twenty-five years, these two forces have also been felt in mainly urban areas of Britain in two waves. The first wave can be linked to the 1980s when professional elites and their families, a significant number of whom were temporarily relocated to Britain (White, 1993), transcended national boundaries. At the same time authentic Japanese goods and services, in terms of Japanese restaurants, food shops and video rental shops, aimed at these professional elites also transcended national boundaries (Kotkin, 1992). Japan represented itself as monocultural and exclusive in the *Nihonjinron* sense (Sugimoto, 2014).

The second wave can be linked to the 1990s. After the bubble economy of the 1980s had burst and the number of professional elites was decreasing (Sugimoto, 2009), Japan developed itself as a 'soft' power nation in an attempt to reboot the economy (*ibid.*). A customised form of Japanese food, *manga* (comics) and *anime* (cartoons) aimed at the local British population soon became popular. Japan represented itself as being 'cool', 'fun-loving' and 'multicultural' (Sugimoto, 2014, p. 292). However, Sugimoto (2014, p. 23) tentatively suggests that lurking behind this 'multicultural' façade is what he terms as a type of 'postmodern *Nihonjinron*' (see chapter 7). This suggests that *Nihonjinron* has not remained static but it has been re-constructed to suit the ideological needs of the Japanese government. In my thesis I will only focus on *Nihonjinron* because it would seem to 'play the hegemonic role as the dominant ideology of Japan' (Befu, 2001, p. 103).

1.3 Theories of the Japanese (*Nihonjinron*)

As with all Japanese *emic* concepts, the exact meaning of the term *Nihonjinron* in English is open to discussion. It has been translated as: 'theories of Japanese culture' (Lie, 2001, p. 246); 'discussions of the Japanese' (Yoshino, 1992, p. 2); and 'Japanese character studies' (Graburn and Ertl, 2008, p. 3). Its literal translation: 'theories on/of the Japanese', is commonly used as *Nihonjin* literally means Japanese and *ron* literally means theory (Sugimoto, 2003, p. 4; Kowner, 2002, p. 169; Goodman, 2008 p. 327). However, many analysts doubt the validity of this theorisation (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 4) because it is 'written in Japanese by Japanese for Japanese' (Ivy, 1995, p. 2) and whether or not the Japanese behave in the way that this theorisation suggests has received little empirical investigation by *Nihonjinron* advocates (Sugimoto, 2010). Befu (2001, pp. 78-79), therefore, regards *Nihonjinron* as a prescriptive model for behaviour which reflects how the Japanese should behave rather than how they actually behave.

I am using the term narrative to describe *Nihonjinron* following in the footsteps of Graham (2005) in her discussion of a Japanese company. This is because I believe that *Nihonjinron* is a narrative which the Japanese draw upon to represent themselves both domestically and internationally (Graham, 2005) especially during periods of rapid economic and social change (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1995). Such a narrative is represented through traditional mediums including school textbooks (Kubota, 2014) (see chapter 5) and relatively less-traditional contemporary mediums including *anime* (cartoons) and *manga* (comics) (see chapter 7). However, I want to stress that this narrative would seem to confuse 'cultural ideals with social reality' (McVeigh, 2014, p. 110).

I also use the term ideology because it is mentioned by a number of scholars when discussing *Nihonjinron* such as Befu (2001); Kowner (2002); and Dale (1986). Befu (2001) believes that 'the role of *Nihonjinron* is manifested as the civil religion of Japan' which he believes could be even more prominent than Shintoism (*ibid.* p. 112). Dale (1986⁹) refers to it as an 'ideological tapestry' with disparate threads. Kowner (2002 p. 170) states that *Nihonjinron* has 'emerged as hegemonic ideology an "industry" whose main producers are intellectuals and whose consumers are the masses'. This is because it is produced by the thinking elites (Yoshino, 1992; Mouer and Sugimoto, 1995; Oguma, 2002) to support conservative politics (Befu, 2009) which have dominated post World War II Japan (Sugimoto, 2009). In other words, *Nihonjinron* would appear

⁹ No page numbers are given in the introduction.

to be an ideological narrative with disparate threads which has been constructed and re-constructed by the upper echelons of Japanese society for political gain

Nihonjinron is extremely complex and it covers every aspect of Japaneseness to emphasise its uniqueness by focusing on its cultural differences from Western countries, mainly America (Dale, 1986; Yoshino, 1992; Befu, 2001; Befu, 2009). Japan is viewed as a monolithic cultural bloc which forms 'a culturally and homogenous social entity whose essence is virtually unchanged from prehistorical times down to the present day' (Dale, 1986¹⁰). In an attempt to determine who the Japanese really are (Stanlaw, 2004), the *Nihonjinron* view of Japaneseness is represented in both serious academic study and in popular culture and many books have been published on the subject (Manabe and Befu, 1992). Such is the interest in the subject of who the Japanese are that it is considered 'a national pastime in Japan' (Stanlaw, 2004, p. 274). It has been a subject for discussion in Japan on talk shows on television, and in books, newspapers and magazines (*ibid.*). In 1999 Sugimoto estimated that there were over 1,000 publications in this genre. Such is the influence of *Nihonjinron* that it 'has become a societal force shaping the way Japanese regard themselves' (Kowner, 2002, p. 169) and how they are regarded by others (Sugimoto, 2014).

Nihonjinron is so vast that a thorough investigation is beyond the scope of this thesis. I will use the term *Nihonjinron* to refer to its biological and cultural aspects because it is these aspects that affect my Anglo-Japanese formation. *Nihonjinron* stresses a notion of homogeneity in a 'genetic and cultural sense' in order to demarcate the racially 'pure' Japanese from the 'impure' Japanese (Befu, 2009, p. 35). The overriding biological tenet is that of uni-raciality (*tan'itsu minzoku*), which includes the notion of 'pure' Japanese blood and a unique Japanese culture and language (Yoshino, 1992).

1.3.1 *Tan'itsu minzoku* (uni-raciality)

As previously stated, attempts to reference 'race' in the *Nihonjinron* literature are evidenced by the use of the phrase '*tan'itsu minzoku*' (Yoshino, 1992). *Tan'itsu* literally means 'one' but *minzoku* is more ambiguous it can mean 'race', ethnic community and nation, which indicates the uni-raciality of Japanese society without clearly stating whether it refers to racial or cultural features (Yoshino, 1992). According to Wetherall (2008), the notion of Japanese (*Nihonjin*) in vernacular, political and academic contexts generally implies 'race' (*minzoku*) rather than

¹⁰ No page numbers are given in the introduction.

nationality. What is more, '[...] "race"' has become the standard tag for *minzoku* in MOFA¹¹'s reports to CERD¹² and other UN treaty committees' (Wetherall, 2008, p. 280). This suggests that the word *minzoku* is a racial concept.

Yoshino (1992) tries to defend the use of the word 'race' in a Japanese context. He believes that 'race' for the Japanese does not mean the same as it does in British 'race' relations. This is because 'race' in the Japanese context is used to positively identify the Japanese ('us') whereas in a British context 'race' deals with negatively identifying minority ethnic groups ('them'). However, as *Nihonjinron* focuses on positively identifying the Japanese, it has meant that the existence of ethnic minorities, such as the Koreans and the Chinese, has been largely ignored (Yoshino, 1992; Sugimoto, 2010). It would, therefore, seem that it is through the positive identification of the Japanese that other ethnic groups have been negated. Although this is the reverse of the situation in Britain whereby according to Dyer (1997) the White British majority are invisible and the minority ethnic groups are highly visible, the positive identification of the Japanese remains a highly racial notion (Miles, 1993).

There is official validation of the notion of uni-raciality in Japan, because no 'race' boxes exist in official documentation as 'Japan does not compile data on the ethnicity of its nationals'¹³ (Wetherall, 2008; Okano, 2012; Okubo, 2013). The notion of distinct, coexisting ethnic/racial groups does not exist as a statistical correlation as it does in Britain, which has served to reinforce the popular belief that Japan is uni-racial (Lie, 2001). What is more, the notion of uni-raciality in Japan is not weakened by the existence of the largest minority group, the Koreans (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 6) who can remain invisible in Japan because they are racially indistinguishable from the 'pure' Japanese (*ibid*, p. 7; Arudou, 2013b).

The ideology of uni-raciality has been critiqued by many theorists including Befu (2001); Oguma (2002); and Dale (2011) for being mythical and by Lee (2001, p. 185) for being 'absurd, banal, fanciful, wrong or mystical'. In spite of such critiques *Nihonjinron* inspired racial messages still openly pervade Japanese society and they remain largely unchallenged as Cleveland argues:

Japan is unique today in that it maintains racially laden nationalistic views despite their political implications and in the face of historical and genetic analyses that have long made these notions untenable. [...] In Japan the basic principles of race-based stratification remain pertinent and politically influential (Cleveland, 2014, p. 214).

¹¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs

¹² International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

¹³ This means that there is no official category for the A-Js in Japan.

Senior Japanese politicians have expressed their 'racially laden nationalistic views' both domestically and internationally without harming their political careers (Cleveland, 2014). In the 1980s the then Conservative Prime Minister Nakasone implied that the Japanese IQ was higher than that of the Americans because the presence of ethnic minorities in America lowered the general IQ level (Creighton, 1997; Sugimoto, 2003). He attributed Japan's economic success to ethnic purity in contrast to America's economic failure due to ethnic impurity (Burgess, 2004). Such was the outcry from the international community that Nakasone was forced to retract his comments (Landler and Horvat, 1986).

Such overtly racially laden language is not restricted to the 1980s but it is also evident in the 2000s. Education Minister, Bunmei Ibuki, called Japan an 'extremely homogenous country' in February 2007 and eighteen months prior to this, Foreign Minister Taro Aso said that Japan has 'one nation, one civilization, one language, one culture, and one race' (Burgess, 2007)¹⁴. The current Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's seemingly racially laden sentiments can be summarised in his 2006 amendments to the Fundamental Law of Education (see chapter 5). This law would seem to suggest that in Japan only 'us Japanese citizens' (*ware ware Nihon kokumin* — i.e., excluding foreigners) have a right to education in Japan (Arudou, 2013c). Explicit references to educational goals that emphasise 'tradition,' 'culture' and 'love of nation' are made and school teachers and pupils are required to publicly show respect for Japan's national flag and national anthem (*ibid.*). Abe's *Nihonjinron*-type beliefs include 'vague mystical elements of "Japaneseness", [which] would now appear to be formally enshrined in the Fundamental Law of Education to influence future generations' (*ibid.*).

Some believe that racial 'intolerance [...] has been emboldened by the conservative politics of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe' (Slodkowski, 2014). The current conservative politics of the Japanese government would seem to support Manabe and Befu's (1992, p. 100) findings that *Nihonjinron* is 'the world view and the ideology of the establishment [...] those who espouse it are in the majority in a political sense' (see chapter 4). This could be why Cleveland (2014, p. 213) believes that '[t]he overarching ideology of racial homogeneity [...] remains firmly implanted in the national psyche'.

¹⁴ No page numbers are given in the introduction.

In order to explain such overt racism and ethnocentrism by senior Japanese politicians in the public arena, I will draw upon the Japanese *emic* binary codes of *tatemae* (political correctness) and *honne* (real feelings) (Sugimoto, 2003).

1.3.1.1 *Tatemae* and *honne*

According to Sugimoto *tatemae* and *honne* are usually set in opposition but they seem to run in parallel when referring to racial homogeneity as he states:

The *tatemae* of Japan's racial and ethnic homogeneity goes hand in hand with the *honne* of many Japanese, who believe that "Japaneseness" has superior qualities and should not be contaminated (Sugimoto, 2003, p. 183).

Although Sugimoto (2003) translates *tatemae* as political correctness, I believe that *tatemae* does not correspond to a British notion of political correctness when applying the concept to the uni-raciality of Japan. This political correctness does not seem to be imposed by the Japanese government but by international law in terms of human rights and anti-discriminatory laws (see Solidarity Network with Migrants in Japan, 2007). *Honne* would seem to be used to refer to popular public opinion which is generally supported by the majority as opposed to politically correct notions of internationalisation which are imposed on Japan by Western democracies.

Senior Japanese politicians 'have often expressed their *honne* and referred to the superiority of the Japanese race, a race uncontaminated by other racial and ethnic groups' (Sugimoto, 2003, p. 184) when giving speeches even in an international arena as was the case with Prime Minister Nakasone. They would seem to be reflecting their true ethnocentric feelings as purported by the *Nihonjinron* ideology. Senior politicians can make such racist and ethnocentric comments in Japan because they are appealing to the *honne* of their (racially 'pure' Japanese) supporters and '[t]o that extent, the top politicians reflect the belief of the community at large' (Sugimoto, 2003, p. 184). This could be why it is considered acceptable for senior politicians to use the language of *honne* in the public arena when referring to Non-Japanese as it would seem to be that a 'homogenous Japan' is indeed the dominant discourse amongst the average Japanese' (Burgess, 2012, p. 42).

As the largest ethnic groups in Japan, the Koreans and the Chinese, are virtually racially indistinguishable from the racially 'pure' Japanese, an immutable characteristic of 'pure Japanese blood' underpins the notion of uni-raciality (Yoshino, 1992).

1.3.1.2 The importance of blood

Although the Anglo-Japanese with one Japanese national parent can become Japanese citizens at birth regardless of where they are born (Sugimoto, 2003), they cannot obtain dual-nationality (Ministry of Justice, 1998-2006). They have to choose either of their nationalities before the age of twenty-two (*ibid.*). In spite of their right to Japanese nationality, the notion of 'pure' blood would appear to condemn them 'to the second class' in Japan as their blood is mixed (Befu, 2009, p. 33). This is because mixed-blood implies impurity (*ibid.*).

In Japan attempts were made in the early 1900s to scientifically prove 'the existence of distinct racial groups, which is predicated upon the assumption of breeding isolation', (Yoshino, 1992 p. 27). Such scientific investigations were influenced by German blood studies between 1900 and 1930 (Yoshino, 1992), which suggests that a European-style racist ideology can be found in pre-World War II Japan (Lie, 2001 p. 124). The academic interest in blood types dwindled after World War II, but since the 1970s, in 'uni-racial' post-war Japan, the notion of 'blood' as lineage has been resurrected (Yoshino, 1992).

The notion of Japanese 'blood' as immutable (Yoshino, 1992) runs so deeply in Japan that it would appear to underpin the Nationality Law. Japan as does Germany¹⁵ (Brody, 2002) differs from Britain and the USA in that it has traditionally only granted nationality according to the principle of *jus sanguinis* the 'law of blood', which is based on parental nationality as opposed to the granting of nationality on the basis of *jus soli* the 'law of soil', whereby those who were born within a country's borders have the right to nationality¹⁶ (Sellek, 1997). This may be because in Japan 'nationality is considered an extension of the family; one belongs, organically as it were, to a nation as one does to a family' (Lie, 2001, p. 144). Moreover, nationality (*kokuseki*) is thought to be an extension of household registry (*koseki*¹⁷) and as such it is considered to be 'a native or natural concept' (*ibid.*). Thus, the notion of uni-raciality is maintained by the legal and psychological designation of Koreans and Chinese, who are permanent residents in Japan, as foreigners (Creighton, 1997, p. 231) as they have no Japanese blood (Arudou, 2013a).

Yoshino (1992) tries to defend the reference to blood in the *Nihonjinron* sense of the word. He argues that, 'Japanese blood' is used to positively identify the Japanese and it represents 'a

¹⁵ Jewishness is also based on the principle of (maternal) blood (Ben-Dasan, 1972).

¹⁶ This situation may be changing in Western countries like the UK where the nationality law is being amended.

¹⁷ The registration of birth and marriage differs significantly in Japan and England. In Japan, every Japanese family has a *koseki* (a patriarchal family register) in which the concept of family lineage is embedded (Sugimoto, 2010). Only Japanese nationals can establish a *koseki* so such a system distinguishes the racially 'pure' Japanese from the racially 'impure' Japanese as 'foreign' residents are registered in the alien registration system (Willis, 2006. p. 95).

complex set of meanings and emotive associations concerning Japanese identity' (Yoshino, 1992 p. 26). Furthermore, he believes that 'Japanese blood' may not be a racial concept as it has been socially constructed to mould psychological responses regarding 'we' -ness and 'them' -ness rather than to refer to genetic traits (Yoshino, 1992, p. 27).

Connor (1996) believes that the notion of shared blood is at the core of ethno-national psychology. It is socially constructed by the ruling elites in order to appeal to the emotions when seeking popular support as he emphasises, '[b]oth the frequency and the record of success of such appeals attest to the fact that nations are indeed characterized by a sense-a feeling-of consanguinity' (Connor, 1996, p. 219). This suggests that the metaphor of 'blood' linked to a unique descent of the Japanese is based on a European construct.

The notion of a unique Japanese language and culture is also linked to the tenet of uni-raciality and they are both considered to be unique.

1.3.1.3 A unique language and culture

So entwined is the Japanese language with culture (Burgess, 2012, p. 37) that it is difficult to mention one without mentioning the other. As Japanese culture 'is encoded and carried within the Japanese language' (Stanlaw, 2004, p. 275) both are portrayed as being unique and it is widely believed that they are only accessible to the racially 'pure' Japanese.

Japaneseness tends to be represented as relational, you are either Japanese or you are 'foreign', and a number of binary sets can be used to represent this distinction (McVeigh, 2014, p. 108). The binary set most applicable to my thesis is the *wa/yo* binary. *Nihonjinron* is based upon differences between a unique essentialist Japanese (*wa*) culture (the exception) which is always set in opposition with a European (*yo*) culture (the norm) (Yoshino, 1992). *Wa* literally means harmony (McVeigh, 2014) and it 'designates a specifically Japanese cultural sphere' (Bestor, 2011, p. 274) and *yo* literally means ocean, which can be extended to mean Western (McVeigh, 2014, p. 109). *Washiki* (Japanese style) is connoted with being at home (*uchi*) where traditional Japanese artefacts and practices are preferred, whereas *yoshiki* (western style) is connoted with being outside the home (*soto*) in public buildings with Western furnishings which necessitate Western artefacts and practices (McVeigh, 2014, p. 109). The *wa/yo* binary would seem to define those who have insider (*uchi*) status and those who have outsider (*soto*) status (see chapter 7).

Yoshino (1992, p. 28) tries to defend the linking of 'race' to culture in the *Nihonjinron* literature as he states that it is not necessarily linked to racism but to "race' thinking" as in Japan there is a belief that:

Particular cultural traits should belong to, or are the exclusive property of, a particular group with particular phenotypical and genotypical traits ('racially exclusive possession of a particular culture') (Yoshino, 1992, p. 28).

Yoshino (1992) believes that this notion is different from the one which was used to justify colonisation in Britain which was based on the idea that 'genetically transmitted traits determine (or condition) cultural traits (genetic determinism). He maintains that the racially exclusive possession of a particular culture is stressed over genetic determinism in the Japanese context so it cannot be linked to racism. However, Miles (1993, p. 21) argues that although racism started during colonialism, its reproduction is determined by the rise of the nation state and it is linked with the capitalist mode of production. As Japan is a nation state operating within the capitalist mode of production then the ideology of *Nihonjinron* can be seen as perpetuating a form of racism. This is because it is claimed that only 'pure' Japanese (Japanese 'race') own a monolithic Japanese culture so those who are not racially Japanese, including the A-Js, are automatically excluded from such ownership. This suggests that racism is not simply a "White ideology" created to dominate black people (*ibid.*).

It is widely believed that the Japanese language is so unique that it is considered to be untranslatable (Dale,¹⁸ 1986, p. 77) which makes criticism of Japan by 'foreigners' invalid due to an inability to understand the language (*ibid.*). Language is used as a type of 'semantic bamboo curtain' which would seem to serve as a linguistic barrier between Japan and the outside world (Dale, 1986, p. 60). In line with the ideological narrative of *Nihonjinron* so-called pure Japanese words are linked to the notion of 'pure' Japanese blood as they are constructed as constituting the "voices of the blood", 'they antedate history in reflecting the pure form of tribal sentiment and ethnic homogeneity' (*ibid.*, p. 219).

Pure Japanese words refer to words which are considered to be Japanese in origin rather than loan words deriving from Chinese and Western languages (Dale, 1986, p. 56). An example of which are the Japanese *emic* concepts I have used in my thesis including: *tatemae* (political correctness) and *honne* (real feelings) (this chapter) and *uchi* (inside) and *soto* (outside) (see chapter 7). Japanese honorifics (*keigo*) are also used to emphasise the uniqueness of the

¹⁸ See Dale (1986) for an in-depth discussion on the uniqueness of the Japanese language.

Japanese language (Kubota, 2014, p. 22) (see chapters 5 and 6) and other unique features, which make the Japanese language impenetrable for outsiders, include silence, and *haragei* (an implicit way of communicating) (Dale, 1986; Kubota, 2014).

Stanlaw refers to such a belief as the linguistic version of *Nihonjinron*, which implies that:

Westerners and Japanese learn, receive, and process language differently.[] Ultimately, it is only Japanese who can speak real Japanese. [] However it appears that only someone who is biologically prepared- that is, racially Japanese – can ever really master the language. Thus, only people born into the culture *via 'race'* can ever understand the Japanese (Stanlaw, 2004, p. 27).

Numerous examples exist in the *Nihonjinron* literature that suggest the Japanese language is the exclusive possession of the Japanese 'race' (Yoshino, 1992). This suggests that 'race', language and culture are compounded in the narrative of *Nihonjinron* making them inseparable (Gottlieb, 2005). Heinrich (2012a, p. 30) argues that there have been 'no changes with regard to Japanese language and the way it is believed to relate to Japanese and to foreigners'. What is more such a language ideology also underpins public policy as Burgess (2012, p. 46) argues:

Notions of 'difficulty' and 'spirit' hide the fact that foreigners [...] are not particularly welcome in a Japanese society which remains relatively closed. In other words, historically produced ideologies have constructed concrete policy which in turn has reinforced ideologies of homogeneity.

This suggests that the isomorphism of land equals people equals culture equals polity dominates twenty-first century conservative Japan (Befu, 2009, p. 35). This is because 'the standardization of language and culture constructs fixed, essentialized and taken-for-granted knowledge and such knowledge as hegemony regulates people' (Kubota, 2014, p. 25).

Language is also important because it can be linked to the notion of ideological capital. Certain people have a degree of control over ideological capital which means that their views can be heard (Sugimoto, 2014, p. 15). According to Sugimoto, such people form part of core subcultural groups and they can define the normative framework of society in Japan. He emphasises that:

[T]he slanted views of Japan's totality tend to proliferate because writers, readers, and editors of publications on the general characteristics of Japanese society belong to the core subcultural sphere. Sharing their subcultural base, they conceptualize and hypothesize in a similar way, confirm their portrayal of Japan among themselves, and rarely seek outside confirmation (Sugimoto, 2014, p. 15).

The ideological narrative of uni-raciality would seem to stem from the upper echelons of society and it tends to be represented as if it is the view of the entire Japanese population through channels such as education, publishing and the media in an attempt to maintain the status quo of Japanese society.

The belief in uni-raciality, which would seem to be endorsed by senior Japanese politicians, and espoused as the common view of the Japanese people, makes it difficult for my A-J ethnic formation to be included within such a narrow conceptualisation of Japaneseness and as such it

would seem to mark them as being culturally and linguistically incompetent. This is because those of mixed ethnicities, including the A-Js, as marked as different from the 'standard' Japanese (Befu, 2001).

Next I will demonstrate how the notion of uni-raciality can be linked to European theorisations of ethnicity.

1.3.2 Uni-raciality and European theorisations of ethnicity

According to Yoshino (1992) the notion of uni-raciality can be linked to European theories of ethnicity because he believes that 'the Japanese view of nationality [...] is very much an ethnic one' (Yoshino 1992, p. 68). Some of the theories he mentions¹⁹ are: primordialism, Barth's (1969) boundary approach as well as modernist theorisations such as Hobsbawm's (1983) notion of invented tradition and Anderson's (1983) notion of imagined communities. I have also added two further theorisations: Balibar's notion of fictive ethnicity and Schermerhorn's definition of an ethnic group.

1.3.2.1 Primordialism and the boundary approach

Although primordialism and the boundary approach are usually set in opposition, according to Yoshino (1992) they can both be linked to the notion of uni-raciality. He believes that primordialism is useful to understand the *Nihonjinron* of the 1960s, which is when this notion became established (Oguma, 2002). This view would seem to be upheld by Goodman (2005, p. 60) who argues that the *Nihonjinron* literature was "primordialist" in its explanation of the culture and ethnicity of the Japanese.

Primordialism is thought to be a natural phenomenon that is spiritual rather than sociological and as such it has a long history (Eller and Coughlin, 1996). Primordialists, as exemplified by Geertz (1996) believe that ethnicity is a question of emotion or affect creating primordial attachments and sentiments (Eller and Coughlan, 1996). Geertz (1996) states that primordial attachments stem from the 'givens' of social existence, including culture, language and social practices. Eller and Coughlan (1996) criticise primordialists for offering a fixed view of ethnicity with no explanatory force. Primordialist views would seem to have racial underpinnings because ethnicity is believed to be a natural, innate (biological) and a non-sociological phenomenon (Eller and Coughlin, 1996). Primordialists would seem to believe that 'race', language and culture are interrelated and they

¹⁹ For an in-depth discussion of this see Yoshino (1992).

are innate attributes. Such a view would seem to be similar to the *Nihonjinron* notion of uni-raciality in that that only the racially 'pure' Japanese can acquire Japanese culture and language by virtue of their Japaneseness, a theory which would still seem to be relevant in the 2000s as I will demonstrate in my thesis.

Yoshino (1992) believes that the primordialist perspective was given less weight in the *Nihonjinron* ideology of the 1970s and 1980s than it had been given in the past. He believes that more weight was given to Barth's (1969) symbolic boundary approach even though this approach is considered to be in opposition to the views of primordialists. The boundary approach was brought to the foreground by Barth's (1969) transactionalist approach to ethnicity (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996) and it moves beyond ethnicity as biologically innate and non-researchable to something that focuses on the interaction between ethnic groups, which is researchable.

Barth (1996) offers a definition of an ethnic group which has been used by anthropologists. He states that an ethnic group:

1. is largely biologically self-perpetuating
2. shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms
3. makes up a field of communication and interaction
4. has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order (Barth, 1996, p. 75).

Barth's (1996, p. 75) definition blurs 'race' and ethnicity as he admits that this definition is not so far removed from the traditional proposition that a race equals a culture equals a language, which would seem to be highly significant to the Japanese case.

Barth believes that groups are defined by ethnic boundaries rather than by culture. The focus is on ascription, how people define themselves and are defined by others. He believes that ethnic boundaries are a complex organisation of behaviour and social relations. The idea that cultural traits are linked to ethnicity is rejected by such an approach and it is believed that it is the ethnic boundary that defines ethnic groups rather than culture. Yoshino (1997, p. 201) believes that the imagined metaphor of Japanese 'blood' is used as a symbolic boundary marker for the Japanese and that "race" stakes out a very effective boundary'. Dikötter (1997, p. 5) argues that 'a common thread to different forms of racism is that they all primarily group human populations on the basis of some biological signifier'. Hall would seem to agree with Dikötter as he states:

Racism, of course, operates by constructing impassable symbolic boundaries between racially constituted categories, and its typically binary system of representation constantly marks and attempts to fix and naturalize the difference between belongingness and otherness (Hall, 1996, p. 445).

It would seem that the notion of pure Japanese blood would appear to be an 'impassable symbolic boundary' because it is based on immutable biological inherent characteristics, which are used to demarcate the 'pure' Japanese from 'impure' Japanese. This suggests that in the narrative of *Nihonjinron* the metaphor of 'blood' would seem to be a racial concept. I believe that trying to use the biological metaphor of 'pure Japanese blood' in order to demarcate an entire nation in twenty-first century Japan is problematic as there exists a growing number of people both inside²⁰ and outside²¹ Japan, such as the A-Js, whose 'blood is mixed'.

According to Yoshino (1992) both Hobsbawm's (1983) notion of invented tradition and Anderson's (1983) notion of imagined communities can be linked to the *Nihonjinron* of the 1970s and 1980s.

1.3.2.2 Invention of tradition and imagined communities

Hobsbawm's (1983) notion of invented tradition would appear to underpin the artefacts and practices which form the bedrock of the ideology of uni-raciality. According to this theory traditional artefacts and practices are re-presented to preserve continuity with the past during times of economic and social change. This is attempted by constructing and reconstructing the history and culture of modern nation states in order to establish social cohesion through the legitimisation of modern institutions as well as the standardisation of values and beliefs (Nagel, 1994).

I believe that Hobsbawm's (1983) notion of tradition, but only in the broadest sense possible, can be useful to understand the traditional artefacts and practices which are prominent in the *Nihonjinron* notion of uni-raciality. Although this notion of tradition may be useful for my thesis, I feel that a deep discussion about the extent to which a tradition is 'real or invented' or for that matter the precise point in a historical past when the tradition was thought to have originated/been invented is unnecessary for my thesis (see Vlastos, 1998 for a discussion of this). I am using the notion of tradition to illustrate how traditional Japanese artefacts and cultural practices are constructed and re-constructed within a *Nihonjinron* narrative of uni-raciality as having links with a distant past to give a sense of continuity. I, therefore, use Hobsbawm's notion of 'tradition' very loosely to represent 'a continuous cultural transmission in the form of discrete cultural practices of "the past" that remain vital in the present' (Vlastos, 1989, p. 2).

²⁰ According to Jones and Shen (2008), in 1970 only half of 1% of marriages in Japan was with a Japanese national and a foreign partner whereas in 2000 this figure rose to 4.5%. This figure was even higher in Tokyo in 2000, where one in ten marriages were between a Japanese national and a foreign partner (Jones, 2008, p. 11).

²¹ In the 1980s nearly half of Japanese Americans had married outside their ethnic groups (Tizard and Phoenix, 2002).

Anderson's (2006) notion of imagined communities is also helpful to understand how culture and language is used to construct Japan's ideological narrative of uni-raciality. Anderson believes that modern nation states, such as Japan, have been constructed to inspire nationalistic emotions. Such emotions are constantly reinforced through a standardised national culture fabricated by the state, which in the 2000s is still disseminated through an imagined language, which in the case of Japan is based on the Tokyo dialect (Kubota, 2014).

What is more, the notion of 'race' would also seem to underpin the notion of imagined communities. This is explained by Miles (1993) who argues that the construction of an imagined community is interwoven with the notion of 'race' as he points out:

[...] the parameters of an imagined community of nation can be specified and legitimated by racism. In other words, the ideologies of racism and nationalism can be interdependent and overlapping, the idea of 'race' serving as a criterion of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion so that the boundary of imagined 'nation' is equally a boundary of 'race' (Miles, 1993, p. 79).

It would appear that it is against the backdrop of a notion of tradition, an imagined 'nation' linked to a notion of 'race' with a fictitious national language that the ideological narrative of uni-raciality is represented.

There would seem to be some similarities between Anderson's (2006) notion of *Imagined Communities* and Balibar's notion of fictive ethnicity.

1.3.2.3 Fictive ethnicity

Balibar's (1996) notion of fictive ethnicity would seem to be applicable to the notion of uni-raciality. Balibar believes that ethnicity is not a natural phenomenon as nation states are purposively ethnicised by governments. This means that they are merely represented as if they have been formed naturally and they possess an identity of origins, culture and interests which are historically rooted. The notion of 'race' is also compounded in this theory which Balibar refers to as 'second-degree fiction' (1996, p. 167). He believes the notion of 'race' derives its effectiveness from everyday practices and relations. In order to introduce a sentiment of 'us' and 'them' Balibar also believes that the symbolic kernel of the idea that 'race' equates with ethnicity is that individuals belonging to the same people are interrelated and that they form one big family. Balibar's notion of 'race' can be applied to the ideology of *Nihonjinron* because, as previously stated, there is an implication that 'pure' Japanese nationals are from the same genetic pool, they are members of an extended family and belong to the Japanese 'race' (Kowner, 2002). Balibar (1996, p. 165) also brings language into the equation as he believes that the school is the site of

the inculcation of a nationalist ideology and that 'schooling is the principal institution which produces ethnicity as linguistic community' (*ibid*, p. 166). In Japan nationalism can be linked to education, especially in terms of a national language (*kokugo*) (see chapters 5). All the above suggests that Japan has been racialised by the thinking elites.

To sum up, it would seem that the *Nihonjinron* theorisation of Japaneseness is exclusionary to outsiders such as the Anglo-Japanese, as it is based on the premise that only those with 'pure' Japanese blood can be considered Japanese, and only they can master the Japanese language and culture due to its uniqueness. The notion of uni-raciality can be located within European theorisations, and whichever theory is applied to the Japanese case, the outcome would seem to remain the same, the sentiment of 'race' is always lurking somewhere in the background. Even though some may argue that Japan's ethnicity is socially constructed, Goodman (2005, p. 70) emphasises that it 'is still experienced by most of those at whom it is directed as primordial'.

In order to escape the racialising nature of *Nihonjinron* Schermerhorn's more pluralistic definition of an ethnic group could be elaborated upon to apply to the Anglo-Japanese.

1.3.2.4 Schermerhorn's pluralistic approach

A more pluralist definition of ethnicity which could be linked to the Anglo-Japanese is Schermerhorn's (1978) definition of an ethnic group which he defines as:

a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are: kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features, or any combination of these (Schermerhorn, 1996, p. 281).

However, Schermerhorn²² also conflates 'race' with ethnic group as kinship patterns, tribal affiliation and 'phenotypical'²³ features are mentioned. This could be because 'race' and ethnicity are so conceptually linked that the two are often conflated as Hall emphasises:

The biological referent is never wholly absent from discourses of ethnicity, though it is more indirect. The more 'ethnicity' matters, the more its characteristics are represented as relatively fixed, inherent within a group, transmitted from generation to generation, not just by culture and education, but by biological inheritance, stabilized above all by kinship and endogamous marriage rules that ensure that the ethnic group remains genetically, and therefore, culturally 'pure' (Hall, 2000, p. 223).

²² This could be because the term 'race' had been discredited after World War II due to the destructiveness and collapse of Nazi racial doctrine, the term ethnic became commonplace in post-war Britain (Tonkin *et al*, 1996). This seems to suggest that the term 'race' had simply been replaced by the word ethnic (*ibid.*) but 'its [race] conceptual framework was never destroyed'; in particular the idea that populations can be divided into discrete, largely immutable categories (Malik, 1996, p. 127).

²³ In my thesis I am not drawing upon the notion of 'phenotypical' features because the word phenotypical is linked to biology. As my thesis is about language and cultural practices linked to ethnicities rather than fixed biological concepts, I am replacing phenotypical features with racial features.

As Schermerhorn is talking about a collectively within a larger society, this could be loosely related to the A-Js in Japan. He gives a list of 'symbolic elements' which could be adapted to eliminate the idiom of race by using: language, artefacts, food, and cultural practices.

Although I am not in agreement with the biological referent of 'race', I will use it in my thesis to highlight the racial idiom underpinning the *Nihonjinron* ideology. In addition, I believe it is necessary to keep the word 'race' with its biological connotations for two reasons:

Firstly, race is too important in many actor models, and secondly we need the word race as part of the rationale for all the legislation, international and national, which has been designed to combat discrimination based on ideas of race (Banton, 1996, p. 102).

This is all the more pertinent to the Japanese case as no such legislation would appear to exist (Solidarity Network with Migrants, Japan, 2007, Burgess, 2007; Arudou, 2013b) (see section 4.4).

It is not my aim to inadvertently reify the notion of 'race' but to illustrate that it is an inadequate way of conceptualising the A-Js in the twenty-first century, and that a practices and participation approach to ethnicity is much more productive. This notion is supported by Fishman (1996, p. 65) who asserts that, the 'doing' of ethnicity is more salient than the 'being' of ethnicity (racial appearance). In other words, what people do is more salient in the construction of ethnicity than what people look like. In an attempt to relinquish the idiom of race and to conceptualise my A-J ethnic formation in less essentialising ways, I turn to the British Cultural Studies tradition and in particular Stuart Hall's notion of new ethnicities and translation.

1.4 New ethnicities and British cultural studies

The concept of new ethnicities has emerged out of a relatively new configuration of disciplines known as cultural studies. It originated in Birmingham in the 1960s when the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) was founded. Jamaican-born Stuart Hall was an influential former director of the centre, and texts referring to the black experience of a 'hybrid' status within British society emerged from the Centre, while Hall himself has been referred to as a diasporic intellectual (Chen, 1996). Hall (1980) admitted that it is difficult to locate the exact beginnings of cultural studies and to give an exact definition but he states that:

Cultural Studies was an 'engaged' set of disciplines, addressing awkward but relevant issues about contemporary society and culture, often without benefit of that scholarly detachment or distance which the passage of time alone sometimes confers on other fields of study (Hall, 1980 p. 4).

In other words, cultural studies aimed to understand the changes and developments taking place in British society at the moment of such changes. There was a tension between political and

intellectual concerns in cultural studies which according to Hall (1980, p. 80) 'prevented its easy absorption and naturalization into the social division of knowledge'.

1.4.1 Foregrounding new ethnicities

Hall's (1988) 'new ethnicities' thesis was situated within the changing conceptualisation of the 'black' ethnic/racial category during 1970s and 1980s Britain. Hall maintained that such a category was changeable because it had been politically, culturally and discursively constructed by 'historical formations of hegemony' rather than being fixed by nature (Julien, 1996, p. 454). He pinpointed two conceptual changes in the meaning of the 'black' category within the ideology of anti-racism. The first change occurred in opposition to the essentialist conceptualisation of the black/white binary, when the category of black was used by Afro-Caribbean and Asian communities as a term of reference to unify a common experience of racism and marginalisation, which became hegemonic over other new ethnicities²⁴ (Hall, 1996, p. 443). This conceptual change produced new ethnicities²⁵ in the 1970s (Hall, 1992a). However, this meant that the black category had been further simplified and stereotyped. The second change occurred with the recognition of the diversity of the black category in terms of social variables, such as class, sexuality, ethnicity and gender. This meant that the essentialist racial category of 'black' together with the language of binary opposites were no longer viable (Hall, 1996).

New ethnicities would seem to be constructed by blurring traditional ethnic boundaries as people from Africa and Asia have settled in Britain. Hall called for the re-theorisation of ethnicity and difference so that such people could be referred to in less essentialising ways. It would seem that Hall is offering a third way between essentialist 'race' rhetoric and the emptiness of free floating ethnicities offered by post modernists (Cohen, 1999). New ethnicities refer to anti-essentialist notions of ethnicity, which are fluid and changeable as they are socially and politically constructed through discourse rather than being biologically formed. This means that Hall is taking an instrumentalist approach to ethnicity in that he believes that ethnicity is socially constructed and that individuals can forge their ethnicities from a variety of ethnic heritages and cultures (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996). It is Hall's way of conceptualising ethnicity which is particularly useful for my research into the A-Js, which I will examine later. First I want to mention some potential problems and limitations in Hall's work on ethnicities in relation to my A-J ethnic formation.

²⁴ I am using the term new ethnicities to standardise terminology.

²⁵ Hall (1992a) used the term new ethnic identities.

1.4.2 Problematising new ethnicities

There are some problems with using Hall's new ethnicities thesis with my A-J formation. First of all, Hall would seem to make reference to biological constructs which date back to colonial times. Hall uses the term black in his writing which he links to skin colour even though the term black is a fixed essentialist category which has its roots in scientific theorisations of 'race'. In addition, he uses the notion of 'hybridity' which is a metaphor originating from biology which was used to describe the offspring of Black Africans and White Europeans (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007). This means that it can infer, 'a biological construal of cultural practices (*ibid*, p. 25). What is more, the existence of hybridity is predicated on the notion of pure 'races' (*ibid*), which also dates back to scientific theorisations of 'race'. Harris (2006) would seem to agree with this as he states:

talk of 'new ethnicities' and 'cultures of hybridity' can appear to be chronically undermined by the essential enduring biological fixity of the skin colour of black and brown people in Britain and what this signifies in social, cultural, economic and political life (Harris, 2006 p. 4).

Ali (2003) would also seem to concur with this idea. She criticised Hall's theoretical framework and she questioned the use of the old 'racial' category of black, which he used to link the identification of black with skin colour. This may be why she said that she could not recognise her own 'mixedness' in these 'new ethnicities' (Ali, 2003 p. 10). There seems to be a contradiction in Hall's work as, on the one hand, he is challenging essentialist conceptions, but, on the other hand, he is drawing upon the same essentialist terminology albeit with new meanings (Hall, 2000). These essentialist categories pertaining to skin colour are not applicable to my A-J formation because their skin colour is neither black nor white and their racial features are ambiguous (see chapter 5).

In addition, Hall (1996) seems to have a problem with terminological distinction. In his seminal article entitled 'New ethnicities' he does not seem to give an explicit definition of the term and as such the meaning is left somewhat open to interpretation by the reader. Although the pluralised term, ethnicities, is used in the title, it rarely features in the article itself as the singular, ethnicity, is the preferred term. To add to the confusion, Hall seems to adopt a cut and mix approach to terminology as he uses new ethnic identities and ethnic/racial identities; cultural identities, (Black) identity, identities as well as new identities instead of the term new ethnicities.

In order to limit terminological distinction and ambiguity, I will not use the term identity in my thesis. The term 'identity' is currently used in ways which overlap with notions of ethnicity (and 'race') (Tonkin *et al.*, 1996). It has been used negatively in psychoanalytical discourse to refer to

'identity crisis' and it often carries a meaning that this singular fixed attribute resides in the brain (Erikson, 1968) (see Section 1.4.1). This suggests that 'identity' has the meaning of 'being' and not the 'doing' of ethnicity.

Brubaker and Cooper (2004) believe that identity is used in such a diverse range of theoretical traditions that the term is merely ambiguous as an analytic category and they argue that:

If one wants to examine the meanings and significance people give to constructs such as "race", "ethnicity", and "nationality," one already has to thread through conceptual thickets, and it is not clear what one gains by subsuming them under the flattening rubric of identity (Brubaker and Cooper, 2004, p. 36).

While the concepts of 'race' and ethnicity have been critiqued by many academics, I feel that the notion of identity is used to replace or used alongside these terms in an often uncritical way (Brubaker and Cooper, 2004). The term identity is often used because its meaning is clear in vernacular usage (which is in contrast to ethnicity) and it is not pernicious like the term 'race' even though the notion of racial identity overlaps with 'race' and ethnicity. As I want to escape the idiom of 'race', I will not be drawing upon the term identity be it ethnic, racial or cultural.

Another problem relating to the new ethnicities literature is that it has tended to focus on meta-theoretical levels of interpretation rather than on empirical evidence (Back, 1996; Harris, 2006; Harris, 2009). In order to situate my research within Hall's framework of new ethnicities I will draw upon the empirical research of Back (1996), Ali (2003) and Harris (2006). I will investigate their reasons for trying to apply new ethnicities theory to empirical research to establish the extent to which this approach might also be suitable for my research.

1.4.3 New ethnicities, empirical studies and my research

A number of empirical research studies have attempted to work within the new ethnicities paradigm in the UK context²⁶. Back's (1996) research centred on young black males attending youth clubs in London. He focused on the relationship between racism and urban multiculturalism within vernacular culture in order to understand how the formation of identity, racism and multiculturalism were manifested in everyday life in 1980s London. As Hall's theoretical framework focused on the black category, it was applicable to Back's research as he was also focusing on the notion of blackness. Back (1996, p. 4) used Hall's theoretical framework because 'new ethnicities' challenged the dominant conceptualisations of both the black and white categories. Moreover, he believed that the literature on new ethnicities attempted to free ethnicity from the claws of the sociology of 'race' and 'race' relations. Back also believed that crude models of

²⁶ See also Hewitt (1986), Rampton (1995), Alexander (1996); Alexander (2000), Nayak (2003), and Parker and Song (2006).

primordial racial definitions could not be applied to multi-ethnic communities of young people in London because such communities were ethnically diverse and ambiguous.

Ali's (2003) research focused on the ways in which young 'mixed race' and 'multi-ethnic/inter-ethnic'²⁷ people in London aged eight to eleven made meaning from and used discourses of 'race', ethnicity and culture in mainstream schools and in their homes. Ali wanted to challenge the use of binary distinctions and 'singularity' within the hegemonic 'race' rhetoric which she believed denied possibilities for mixed identifications. She maintained that cultural studies provided new ways of theorising new ethnicities, which provided the potential for post-race thinking²⁸. She believed that Hall's (1992a) concept of cultural 'translation' is a useful concept when investigating mixedness. Nevertheless, Ali used the concept of new ethnicities in her work because she, like Back (1996), believed that 'Hall's analysis provided a useful way of 'moving on from essentialising (or racialising) theories of ethnicity' (Ali, 2003, p. 10). Ali (*ibid.*) maintained that Hall's notion of new ethnicities would enable mixedness to be considered in less essentialising ways than in the past and that Hall's new ethnicities were not merely additions to current forms but they had 'evolved and metamorphosed in relation to *'cultural hybrids'* '.

Harris's (2006) research focused on young people aged fifteen of mainly South Asian descent attending mainstream school in West London in the late 1990s. He (2006 p. 5) framed his analysis on the self-representations of the young peoples' language use in order to better understand how they construct their ethnicities rather than simply equating skin colour with a fixed notion of ethnicity. Such an ethnic formation fits Hall's (1996) notion of new ethnicities as they are part of London's visible minorities who would have been termed black. Harris (2006) also used Hall's theoretical framework because he believed that black and brown people, who were descendents of the post colonial era, had been theoretically straitjacketed into essentialist categories over the last fifty years in Britain and he wanted to free them from such essentialising categories. He combined approaches, which were not traditionally used together, relating to cultural studies, sociology and sociolinguistics, which meant that he needed to deploy a vocabulary which would allow him to escape essentialist notions of ethnicity. Harris believed that Hall's notion of new ethnicities and 'cultures of hybridity' opened up a theoretical space which

²⁷ Ali draws upon a range of terms to discuss mixedness. She does not seem to clearly define multi-ethnic/inter-ethnic. She also uses the term international. She says that international refers to pupils who have one white parent and one parent from another European or northern hemisphere country. Ali distinguishes 'mixed 'race'' from multi-ethnic/inter-ethnic in the appendix (Ali, 2003, p. 181). This highlights the problematic nature of conceptualising mixedness.

²⁸ Ali defines post 'race' thinking as 'a change from old essentialist views of biological races, and hence concepts of 'cultural mixing' (Ali, 2003, p. 2).

could be further developed through the use of grounded empirical investigation. He also focused on the ordinary and the mundane rather than on the spectacular as was previously the case in the tradition of the study of young people in sociology and cultural studies.

All three researchers used the new ethnicities paradigm in a London context and they all drew upon the notion of black and/or brown. Although I am not drawing upon the notion of black in my research, many of the reasons given by these researchers for using the concept of new ethnicities in their research are applicable to my empirical research. I, like Back (1996), would like to use Hall's theoretical framework because I believe that new ethnicities' can be used to challenge the dominant conceptualisations of both (a) Japaneseness, and (b) traditional essentialist 'mixed-race' categories, which are still largely based on white plus black or brown individuals of the post-colonial era. I also want to challenge dominant racial notions of Japaneseness that stem from the ideology of *Nihonjinron*. Moreover, I, like Back (1996), would like to free ethnicities from the sociology of 'race' and primordial racial definitions as they cannot be applied to the A-Js living in Britain in the twenty-first century (see chapter 5). I, like Harris (2006), will use theories from cultural studies, sociology and sociolinguistics and I will partly focus on the self-representations of the A-Js in order to understand how they construct their ethnicities by focusing on the ordinary and the mundane.

It is my aim, like Ali (2003), to research mixedness within the concept of translation in order to challenge essentialist notions of 'race' and ethnicity in the conceptualisation of Anglo-Japanese young people. However, the concept of translation cannot be wholeheartedly imported into my research in an uncritical manner so I feel it is necessary to make some elaborations. Hall (1992a) believed that in the post-colonial era the concept of 'diaspora' was important to the notion of new ethnicities as colonialism had led to the displacement of individuals. He attempted to deal with this notion of 'diaspora' with the notion of translation. Hall (1992a) believed that the term 'Translation':

1. describes those identity formations which cut across and
2. intersect natural frontiers, and which are composed of
3. people who have been *dispersed* forever from their
4. homelands. Such people retain strong links with their places
5. of origin and their traditions, but they are without the illusion
6. of a return to the past [...]. They are obliged to come to terms
7. with the new cultures they inhabit, without simply
8. assimilating to them and losing their identities completely.
9. They bear upon them the traces of the particular cultures,
10. traditions, languages and histories by which they were
11. shaped. The difference is that they are not and will never be
12. unified in the old sense, because they are irrevocably the
13. product of several interlocking histories and cultures, belong
14. at one and the same time to several 'homes' (and to no one

15. particular 'home'). People belonging to such *cultures of*
16. *hybridity* have had to renounce the dream or ambition of
17. rediscovering any kind of 'lost' cultural purity, or ethnic
18. absolutism. They are irrevocably *translated* [...]. They are
19. the products of the new *diasporas* created by the post-
20. colonial migrations. They must learn to inhabit at least two
21. identities, to speak two cultural languages, to translate and
22. negotiate between them. Cultures of hybridity are one of the
23. distinctly novel types of identity produced in the era of late-
24. modernity, and there are more and more examples of them
25. to be discovered (Hall, 1992 p. 310).

Hall's notion of translation seems to be implying a fusion of overlapping ethnicities experienced by different 'diasporic' black or brown communities in Britain in the 1970s, 1980s and beyond (Chen, 1996). I, like Harris (2009), feel that the concept of translation needs to be elaborated upon through empirical data resulting from ethnographic fieldwork (see chapter 2).

In order to make Hall's notion of translation (see p. 35) more applicable to the A-Js I propose the following elaborations. The idea of being 'composed of people who have been dispersed forever from their homelands' (lines 3-4) does not seem appropriate in the case of the A-Js as many of them were born in Britain, only one parent is Japanese and they regularly travel to Japan on holiday. In addition, the A-Js living in Britain may not experience 'the sense of exile and loss' (lines 16-17) in the same way as Hall may have done when he realised after five years of being in England that he would not return to Jamaica to live (Chen, 1996) as only some of the A-Js were born in Japan but have only stayed for a relatively short period of time and as previously stated they regularly travel to Japan. The notion of 'lost' cultural purity (line 17) seems inappropriate as the A-Js have been translating between language and cultural practices since birth.

Although Hall is using the notion of cultural 'hybridity' (lines 15 and 22) to positively represent the processes of internal differences which were occurring in the off-spring of second and third generation black and Asian individuals (Cohen, 1999), I will replace this term and the term 'identity formation's (line 1) with new ethnicities for the reasons previously mentioned. I will replace the term post-colonialism (lines 19-20) with globalisation because the Anglo-Japanese formation has been created by globalisation rather than post-colonialism as Japan has never been a British colony. Hall's binarised notions, '**two** identities' **two** cultural languages' (lines 20/21) should be revised (Harris, 2009). This is because Hall would seem to be suggesting that language is a 'describable entity' (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007, p. 17) which is 'separable and enumerable' (*ibid.*, p. 2) whereas in the case of the A-Js their language practices are fluid and overlapping, which renders such a binarised notion problematic. I feel that the notion of translation and new ethnicities can be applied to my thesis on mixedness if the idiom of race is relinquished

in terms of the fixity of skin colour, biologically related terminology is avoided, and only the pluralised form ethnicities is used.

In spite of these elaborations, I feel that the A-Js are a unique example of Hall's (1992) notion of 'cultures of hybridity' (line 22) (new ethnicities). They 'cut across and intersect natural frontiers' (lines 1-2). The notion of a return to a homeland may still be relevant (lines 5-6) as some of the A-Js in my research have not ruled out the possibility of moving to Japan in adulthood. They encounter a myriad of cultural practices (lines 6 -8). They are 'the product of several interlocking histories and cultures' (lines 12-13) and they have the sense of belonging to 'several 'homes'' (line 14) as they have visited relatives in Japan many times. The notion of translation is also applicable because the A-Js have allegiances with overlapping language practices and cultural practices so they are translating between these on a daily basis. Hall says that there are 'more examples of them (cultures of hybridity) to be discovered' (lines 24/25) and I feel that the A-Js are an example created through my revised notion of translation.

To conclude, the British Cultural Studies tradition has developed new anti-essentialist ways of theorising ethnicity. Hall coined the term new ethnicities so that ethnic formations can be viewed in more heterogeneous ways. He pluralised the notion of ethnicity in order to destabilise it and to free it from its association with racial ideology. Thus, I following in the footsteps of Back (1996), Ali (2003) and Harris (2006), will use the notion of new ethnicities and translation to give a theoretical framework to my empirical research which will help me to conceptualise the A-J formation. However, my research differs from that of Back, Ali, and Harris, as the research participants are not black or brown descendants of the post-colonial era, and, as such, they represent formations which seem to be under-researched in Britain. It is through Hall's work and the notion of translation that I am able to investigate the A-Js mixedness. Next I will turn to the notion of mixedness in the USA, Japan and Britain in order to investigate the extent to which the A-J ethnic formation has been placed within such a categorisation.

1.5 Mixedness

The concept of mixedness remains highly problematic. According to Olumide (2002, p. 11) like 'race', the notion of 'mixed race' is not easily definable, if at all it is defined:

race and mixed race are slippery subjects to handle and there is by no means a clear set of understandings in place about their definition, nor even agreement that they *should* be defined (Olumide, 2002, p. 11).

The crude assumption in the UK would seem to be that 'mixed race' equals black/white individuals with one black parent and one white parent. Although 'mixed race' is the most common term used in the British arena (Aspinall and Song, 2013), in my research I am replacing the term with mixed ethnicities. This is because I am not researching the black/white binary and my main focus is on language and cultural practices (ethnicities) rather than on racial appearance ('race'). In other words, I feel the term mixed ethnicities represents a practices and participation approach to ethnicity.

1.5.1 Mixedness in an American context

The notion of 'race' mixing can be traced back to the plantations of the southern states of the USA²⁹ when forced sex between white male owners and black slave labourers produced black/white offspring (Ifekwunigwe, 1999). In order to ensure that the 'mixed race' offspring became slave labourers, the 'one drop rule' was instigated. This meant that any known African ancestor made a person black so the offspring could be economically and sexually exploited by the white male owners (Tizard and Phoenix, 2002). The one-drop rule, which literally means one known drop of African blood,³⁰ has been an 'efficient tool for racial clarity and racial domination'³¹ (Spickard, 2001, p. 77).

In order to prevent racial mixing in the United States, interracial marriages were illegal³² in many states which included marriages between Europeans and 'Mongolians' (Almaguer, 1994 in Williams, 1996, p. 197). In 1913 the Alien Land Law was passed which prevented Japanese nationals from purchasing land in California (Williams, 1996). During this period Ralph Newman, a white minister was quoted as saying:

Near my home is an eighty-acre tract of as fine land as there is in California. On that tract lives a Japanese. With that Japanese lives a white woman. In that woman's arms is a baby. What is that baby? It isn't white. It isn't Japanese. It is a germ of the mightiest problem that ever faced this state; a problem that will make the black problem in the South look white (Spickard, 1989 p. 25, in Williams, 1996, p. 198).

²⁹ 'Mixed race' is linked to the notion of 'race', which was reified by the European scientific theories of race. Such theories were introduced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in order to justify economic and social policies such as plantation slavery and colonisation (Tizard and Phoenix, 2002). They were based on biology and they maintained that black and white people belonged to different species (Tizard and Phoenix, 2002; Banton, 2009). There was also a racial hierarchy, at the top of which were 'White' Europeans because it was the White Europeans who had created such theories (Tizard and Phoenix, 2002). Non-whites were positioned on 'intermediate rungs of this evolutionary ladder' (Ifekwunigwe, 2004 9). In other words, whites were considered superior and blacks were considered inferior. The powerful black/white binary distinction was a commonsense way to easily distinguish between inferior blacks and superior whites.

³⁰ The one drop rule illustrates how the metaphor of blood not only underpins Japaneseness but it also underpins the notion of 'race' in a European context.

³¹ However, "it's in the genes" now replaces "in the blood" to express supposedly deep-rooted inherited tendencies (Oluide, 2002, p. 41).

³² It wasn't until 1967 that this 'anti-miscengation' law was abolished in California (Parker and Song, 2001).

The black/white binary would seem to be the norm and Japanese/American mixing in the USA seems to be compared to this norm. The mixing of American/Japanese was considered to be worse than black/white mixing.

Japanese Americans were further racialised in California after the bombing of Pearl Harbour in 1941³³. The “one-drop rule” was applied to the Japanese Americans who had emigrated to California. They were forcibly removed from their homes and they were placed in internment camps if they were suspected of having one eighth or more Japanese ancestry (Williams, 1996, p. 199). This was solely on suspicion of what they might do even though the great majority were citizens of the USA and as such they were entitled to protection under the law (Weber, 1980). As previously stated, the negativity associated with mixedness in the USA would seem to stem from black/white mixing and it has historically been extended to Japanese/American³⁴ mixing.

Biological scientific theories of racism were introduced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in order to justify the slave trade. An inherent part of scientific racism was hostility to mixedness, which became almost universal (Tizard and Phoenix, 2002). This is because the notion of ‘mixed race’ thwarts the ideal of pristine, pure ‘races’ with the undeniable historical truth of mixture’ (Parker and Song, 2001, p. 17). Scientists maintained that interbreeding across ‘races’ was problematic (Furedi, 2001) as it threatened the purity and supremacy of the ‘white ‘race’’ (Ifekwunigwe, 2004, p. 9).

In 1928, the Harvard sociologist, Robert Park, coined the concept of the ‘Marginal Man’ to refer to the problems associated with black people living in post-colonial USA. The concept of the ‘Marginal Man’ was later applied to mixed ‘race’ black/white individuals. Even though Park mentioned both positive and negative aspects of such a disposition (Tizard and Phoenix, 2002), Stonequist (1937) later elaborated on this theory but only focused on negativity by psychologising the Marginal Man (Furedi, 2001). The concept of the ‘Marginal Man’ suggested that ‘mixed race’ individuals would experience ‘a divided self’, with consequent psychological problems, which were best solved by becoming full members of the black community³⁵ (Tizard and Phoenix, 2002 p. 45). According to this thesis, the problems faced by ‘mixed ‘race’ individuals are intrinsic to the group rather than being dependent on social processes (Olumide, 2002, p. 47) in terms of a

³³ This situation is exemplified in the lyrics of the song and the images of the video of ‘Kenji’ by Fort Minor. The lead singer is Japanese American Mike Shinoda. This video is available online at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3BJp0BCbGo> [Accessed 06.03.2014]

³⁴ In the USA, 59% of Asian Americans marry outside their ethnic group (mainly Asian American females marry white males) (Song, 2009).

³⁵ This belief would seem to support the one drop rule, that is any known African ancestry makes a person black.

society which differentiates according to “blood” (ibid p. 48). Many of the “mixed bloods” were ‘conceived through acts of rape and coercion’ (Olumide, 2002, p. 28) but there is no acknowledgement in this ‘Marginal Man’ thesis as to the ancestry of Stonequist’s ‘mixed bloods’ and the part played by slavery (*ibid.*). Olumide asserts that it is the lack of attention to social forces that is missing in Stonequist’s work.

Furedi (2001) points out that the ‘Marginal Man’ thesis by Stonequist (1937) was one of the most influential works during the interwar years of the 1930s and 1940s and the pathology of the Marginal Man as a reaction to colonialism and racism helped to discredit anti-colonial and anti-racist feelings. He argues that:

The widespread influence of this outlook in the 1930s and 1940s helps place in perspective the intellectual climate on ‘race’. Precisely at a time when scientific racism was under attack and when ideals of ‘race’ equality were gaining currency, a rearguard action was mounted to morally condemn ‘race’ mixing and thereby retain the colour line (Furedi, 2001, p.35).

In other words, racial theories would seem to have been used to support the notion that ‘race’ mixing was negative even at a time when ‘race’ equality was becoming established (Furedi, 2001). This suggests that many influential forces in societies such as the USA were reluctant to relinquish the negativity associated with ‘race’ and racial mixing.

In the sociology of ‘race’, the focus had shifted from biological classification to the discourse of marginality (Furedi, 2001). The notion of marginality filtered into psychoanalytic discourses in the 1950s as negative terminology, such as identity crisis and identity confusion (Erikson, 1968) which were and are still used to refer to mixedness.

In the Japanese arena, Japanese people of mixed ethnicities have been an under researched group in the scholarly literature and their image has been constructed upon common stereotypes rather than on research (Fish, 2009).

1.5.2 Mixedness in a Japanese context

Although Japanese people of mixed ethnicities did not become a widely recognised phenomenon until the American occupation of Japan after World War II, they have existed since European missionaries and traders first entered Japan (c. 1560) (Fish, 2009). In post World War II Japan a racially mixed group of people was perceived to be a larger group than it actually was as around areas with military bases the mixed population had become more visible (Fish, 2009), with a

significant proportion having Black American fathers³⁶ (Wagamatsu, 1976). In addition, a large proportion were born to single-mothers and consequently tended to become members of lower socioeconomic classes than were the offspring of missionaries and traders (Fish, 2009). Some children were abandoned by their single mothers and put into homes (Wetherall, 2008). Such children were not referred to as Japanese, and European racist terminology was used including *hāfu* (half), *kuootā* (quarter), and *hachiban no ichi* (one-eighth) which were the Japanese equivalents of half-caste, quadroon (one-quarter black) and octoroon (one eighth black) (Wetherall, 2008). Other Japanese terms, some of which are negative and some of which are positive, have also existed in Japan to describe people of mixed ethnicities.

Two negative terms are *ainoko* (love-child) and *konketsu-ji* (mixed-blood child) (Sekiguchi, 2002). Although *ainoko* literally means love-child, it has a pejorative sense as it indicates 'a child of unlike things put together' as in 'hybrid' animals or plants (Sekiguchi, 2002, p. 213). *Ainoko* also implies negativity as it was used to label the offspring of US servicemen and Japanese women after World War II. This word has become politically incorrect and it is currently obsolete (Sekiguchi, 2002).

The second term, *Konketsu-ji*, which literally means 'mixed-blood child', underlines the importance of blood in Japan (Sekiguchi, 2002). This term was used to negatively refer to the offspring of American servicemen as it had connotations of single-mother families and school dropouts (*ibid*). According to Fish (2009, p. 41) this label conjures up:

traditional images of an 'outsider' group in 'homogenous Japan', of the importance of pure-bloodedness in Japanese identity, and of a group being victimized by discrimination.

In spite of these negative connotations, Fish (2009) points out that the term 'mixed-blood' is still the most widely used label in scholarship. This use of the racial metaphor of blood would appear to highlight the influence of *Nihonjinron* inspired terminology on academia (Sugimoto, 2014, p. 21).

Although there are two positive terms in Japan: *kokusai-ji* (international child) and *dabaru* (double), their usage has not become widespread (Sekiguchi, 2002). The former was advanced in 1979 in the International Year of the Child. It has positive connotations as this term highlights the positive aspects of the international quality of mixed ethnicities (*ibid*). Sekiguchi (2002) points out that this term failed to be widely acknowledged in Japan and it was only used by journalists

³⁶ There would appear to be a racial hierarchy in Japan. This was because White American-Japanese were perceived in a more positive light than Black American-Japanese (Wagamatsu, 1976).

and some enlightened parents. The latter term, *dabaru* (double), is another borrowed word from English and it connotes the positive aspects of mixed ethnicities (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008; Sekiguchi, 2002). It is considered to be a term of empowerment but it is not generally used in vernacular Japanese (Sekiguchi, 2002).

In spite of the existence of more positive labels, the term *hāfu*, which ‘represents an active redefining of an inherently racist term, is still the preferred term in vernacular Japanese both as a self-identifying label (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008, p. 287) and as a label to describe people of mixed ancestry (Sekiguchi, 2002). Although the current popular stereotype of *hāfu* is “cute/cool” and “bilingual” and the term is used as a trendy label, it can have a denigrating connotation of “half-breed Japanese” (Sekiguchi, 2002, p. 214). Many young people of mixed ethnicities are vulnerable to bullying (Daulton and Akinori, 2000; Kamada, 2010), which highlights the marked status of the term *hāfu* in Japanese society.

Next, I will turn to research which has been conducted in terms of mixedness in the British arena to establish the extent to which the A-Js have been included.

1.5.3 Mixedness in a British context

The concept of ‘between two cultures’ which preceded the theory of marginality (see section 1.5.1) has lingered in the minds of many people in a British context (Tizard and Phoenix, 2002). Such a concept was recently revived in Britain as former chair of the Equalities and Human Rights Commission, Trevor Philips, remarked that people of mixed ethnicities are ‘potentially disadvantaged, potentially vulnerable to, “identity stripping” (with children growing up marooned between communities) (Song, 2007, p. 5). Song (*ibid.*) points out that such a view is ‘rather typical of how some analysts and policy makers conceive of the ‘mixed’ population in Britain’. What is more, the problematic nature of mixedness has also filtered through to vernacular discourse with the construction of negative terminology such as ‘half-caste’.

I will focus on two aspects of research which have been conducted in the British arena relating to ‘mixed race’. Firstly, I will focus on the problem of conceptualising mixedness which stems from the basic ethnic/racial categorisations used in the 2001 and 2011 Census for England and Wales. Secondly, I will focus on some specific researchers, Tizard and Phoenix (2002); Ifekwunigwe (1999); Ali (2003); Aspinall (2008) and Aspinall and Song (2013), who have researched mixedness within the British arena.

1.5.3.1 The census

One of the problems of researching mixedness is that there are inadequate ways of dealing with this concept in the British context, which can be highlighted by the UK Census categories. The 1991 Census for England and Wales was the first to include an ethnic group question and just ten years later in 2001³⁷ a 'Mixed Category' was introduced (Owen, 2001). Such a category was regarded as an important step in the recognition of the complexity of ethnic identification (Song, 2003). Moreover, it validated the notion of mixedness as well as the existence of mixed-'race' people in British society (Owen, 2001).

The Mixed Category was based on the combination of three traditional essentialist categories: Black Caribbean, Black African and Asian with the White category (see table 1). Although this Mixed Category existed, the options were limited in order to be comfortably accommodated within the pre-existing rigid framework of racial/ethnic categories. In Britain's racialised demography there was and still is no formation for Anglo-Japanese or Japanese. The categorisation of ethnic groups has tended to be traditionally based on citizens from former colonial territories or from the Commonwealth (Vertovec, 2007). As Japan³⁸ has no historical or colonial links with Britain, it is not represented in the ethnic monitoring question in terms of a discrete nation or in terms of mixedness. This is because:

the tick-box approach to categorising people is unwieldy, because it is too generalised, and often meaningless. It has no finger on the pulse of how life is actually lived, whether it is about sexuality, ethnicity or any other form of capturing diversity (Fanshawe and Sriskandarajah, 2010, p. 6).

This may be why many believe it to be a 'meaningless, essentializing racial category' (Song, 2003 p. 78).

There seemed to be some problems regarding terminological distinction in the wording of the ethnic question in 2001 as Afkhami states:

The ethnicity question in the UK Census [...] reflect this complexity and problem of definition in its juxtaposition of categories of colour (e.g. White, Black) nationality (e.g. British, African), combinations of the two (White British) [...] (Afkhami, 2006).

Ali (2003) would seem to agree with this statement as she asserts:

³⁷ I am mainly focusing on the 2001 Census for England and Wales as the questions relating to ethnic group were the ones that I encountered when filling in forms for schools and which my older son, Timothy, encountered when filling in his university application.

³⁸ The category Japanese may not be included in the Census because the number of Japanese residents residing in Britain was relatively small. However, it is difficult to ascertain the exact figure as UK-derived figures and Japanese-derived figures vary enormously (White, 2003). According to the 2001 Census data there were 37,293 people born in Japan living in Britain (0.07% of the population). According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2001, in Fry 2009, p. 378) there were 53,114 Japanese in the UK with 9,468 permanent residents. White (2003) believes that the true figure lies somewhere between the two. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2008) the number of Japanese nationals residing in the UK in 2012 was 63,017 in October 2008. Thus, the figure has increased by approximately 10,000.

[T]he Census questions had been flawed as nation, ethnicity and “race” were confused within the questions asked. Such problems reflect the difficulties in studying and theorising mixedness (Song 2003, p. 5).

The problem of demarcating populations into neat ethnic/racial compartments is proving increasingly problematic in twenty-first century Britain as is evidenced by the essentialising terminology which is needed. Although the word ‘race’ is not explicitly used, it is implicit in the terms Black and White. Thus, ‘the blurring of the distinction between ‘race’ and ethnicity is apparent in the ‘racial’ census categories’ (Olumide, 2002, p. 33).

I had difficulty placing my older son within these categories because only four options were available in the mixed category (see table 1). As there was no explicit category for the A-Js, I felt that this was a ‘dispassionate rejection’ the result of a ‘rather bizarre recognition of only a set number of ethnic categories’ (Fanshawe and Sriskandarajah, 2010, p. 6) whereas in reality the population was more nuanced, for instance, over 250 languages³⁹ were spoken in London schools (Baker and Eversley, 2000). What is more, the classifications were ambiguous. When Timothy, my older son, was filling in his UCAS application form⁴⁰ in 2006, he ticked the ‘Mixed - White and Asian Background’ box. This is because the definition of Asian from a Japanese *emic* perspective is broader than in vernacular British English usage (see section C, table 1). From a Japanese *emic* perspective it refers to the whole continent of Asia including countries from the Pacific Rim including Japan, China and South East Asia, which is the same in the USA. However, in Britain, Asian tended to be regarded as referring to people from the Indian sub-continent: India, Pakistan or Bangladesh⁴¹ as is the case in section C. When Timothy was in primary school, my classification of him differed from his as I chose ‘Mixed - Any other Mixed Background’ so that I could write his actual ethnic group, Anglo-Japanese. This example highlights the ambiguity of the mixed categories included in the census.

³⁹ Now this figure is over 300 (BBC news, 2012) http://www.bbc.co.uk/languages/european_languages/definitions.shtml accessed 22.11.2012)

⁴⁰ This illustrates that the same ethnic categories are used by universities in Britain.

⁴¹ In the 2011 Census for England and Wales the meaning of Asian has changed as Chinese is now included in category ‘C Asian/Asian British’ (ONS, 2012).

Table 1 - Ethnic question for the 2001 Census for England and Wales

What is your ethnic group?

Choose ONE section from A to E, then tick the appropriate box to indicate your cultural background.

A White

☐ British

☐ Irish

☐ Any other White background, please write in

B Mixed

☐ White and Black Caribbean

☐ White and Black African

☐ White and Asian

☐ Any other Mixed background, please write in

C Asian or Asian British

☐ Indian

☐ Pakistani

☐ Bangladeshi

D Black or Black British

☐ Caribbean

☐ African

☐ Any other Black background, please write in

E Chinese or other ethnic group

☐ Chinese

☐ Any other, please write in

Source: A guide to comparing 1991 and 2001 Census ethnic group data

Recently, the growth in the 'mixed 'race'' category has been officially recognised due to the inclusion of the mixed category in the 2001 and 2011 Census and it is considered to be one of the fastest growing ethnic categories (Song, 2007; Aspinall and Song, 2012). Platt (2009) states that in 2001 the 'mixed race' category was generational as nearly three percent of young people under the age of sixteen were from one of the mixed ethnicity groups. This suggests that in the future such a category will be a lot larger than it currently is (ibid). Parker and Song (2001) maintain that

the mixed category needs investigating in Britain⁴² so that the meaning of 'mixed race' can be reflected upon (Parker and Song, 2001). However, Song (2007) argues that it is problematic to refer to mixedness as a distinct group of people as it would be wrong to presume commonalities of experience among a complex mixed population as insufficient research has been conducted into the mixed categories in Britain. It is hoped that my research into the A-Js can shed some light on a more nuanced meaning of mixedness in the twenty-first century which can add to the existing literature.

1.5.3.1 Empirical studies on mixedness

A number of influential researchers have empirically investigated mixedness in Britain⁴³. Tizard and Phoenix's (2002) study was a ground breaking empirical study in Britain to focus on adolescents (aged 15-16) of black/white parentage. It was aimed at social workers because many such young people were found in long term care or were placed for adoption. Tizard and Phoenix (2002) wanted to challenge the negativity which surrounded black/white young people of mixed ethnicities so they investigated how young people living in their own families rather than in care constructed their racial 'identities'. Previously, clinical studies had been used which reported negative findings. Tizard and Phoenix's (2002) research was less problem-orientated and it focused on insider accounts as well as recognising the importance of gender and social class on the identities of young people of mixed ethnicities. They interviewed black individuals, white individuals and individuals of black and white parentage. Of the mixed sample, 72% were girls who came from 32 different schools in London and 60% were middle class. This study found that the young people did not suffer from 'identity' problems and it showed that the young people and their parents were proud of their mixed heritage, which challenged the between 'two cultures' notion.

Ifekwunigwe's ethnographic research focused on female adults of differing ages of both continental African/African Caribbean and European parentage living in Britain. Ifekwunigwe (1999, p. 2) was critical of what she called the 'science fictionalization of Blackness and Whiteness in the United States and Britain for the purposes of the maintenance of social boundaries'. Moreover, she was looking for anti-essentialist terminology for individuals of black/white mixes and the recognition that such a group is not a homogenised category of black which

⁴² Much of the research into mixed 'race' has been carried out in the USA (Parker and Song, 2001).

⁴³ See also Olumide (2002).

the one drop rule implies. She argued that in Britain black/white bi-racial discrimination exists and that there needs to be a recognition of the heterogeneous nature of such a group.

Ali's (2003) ethnographic research (see section 1.4.2) focused on her own auto-biographical data as her mother is White British and her father is Caribbean Indian together with the data obtained from young people, the majority of whom were of black/white parentage. She used innovative research tools, including photographs taken by the young people themselves. She was also concerned with notions of gender and how popular culture influences young people's understanding of 'race'. She argued for the need for post-'race' thinking and freedom from 'compulsory raciality' (Ali, 2003 p. 18).

Aspinall (2008) and Aspinall and Song's (2013) research investigated the racial/ethnic identity choices for 'mixed race' young adults (aged 18-25). These young adults were recruited from universities and Further Education colleges in England. A 'mixed methods approach' was adopted which included a questionnaire, semi- structured and in-depth interviews (Aspinall, 2008, p. 21). 326 survey responses were received and 65 in-depth interviews were conducted. It is claimed that this is the largest and most detailed study into people of mixed ethnicities in Britain (Intermix, 1999-2013). This research focused on the complexity of mixedness as it included the following categories: Black/White⁴⁴ (17); Asian/White (10); Chinese/White (16); Minority Mixed (including some Black mixes) (7) and Arab/White (15). At least one A-J female was interviewed (see Aspinall and Song, 2013, p. 14) and she was placed in the Asian/White category (Aspinall and Song, 2013, p. 14). The findings of this research was used as 'evidence against multi-ticking to capture the 'mixed' group' in the 2011 Census (Aspinall, 2008, p. 27).

These researchers have all investigated mixedness in Britain in different ways and for different reasons and what they have in common is that they all make reference to people of black/white parentage and such a binarised mix has tended to dominate the literature on mixedness (Aspinall and Song, 2013). It is only in Aspinall (2008) and Aspinall and Song's (2013) research that the A-J ethnic formation is mentioned. My research differs from previous research in that it is an in-depth empirical study into the A-J⁴⁵ formation, which is an under-researched formation in Britain.

⁴⁴ The term White is used in a broad sense to refer to Europeans and not just White British.

⁴⁵ This group has been researched in the USA (Mass, 1992; Mengel, 2001) and Canada (Mahtani, 2001).

1.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that an essentialist notion of ethnicity, based upon European theorisations, underpins the common conceptualisation of Japaneseness and that such a conceptualisation does little to accommodate the Anglo-Japanese in urban settings in Britain. My claim that the existence of the A-Js fit uneasily within the terminology customarily used to discuss Japaneseness is supported by Yoshino (1992 p. 27) who says:

It is quite possible that, when international contact (especially international marriage) becomes more common and as the myth of 'Japanese blood' loses its explanatory force, sociologists will no longer have to use the notion of "race" and may comfortably replace it with that of 'ethnicity' to describe the Japanese perception of their identity (Yoshino, 1992, p. 27).

Yoshino's perspective assists my argument that the existence of the A-Js renders the traditional racial idiom which would appear to be implicit in the *Nihonjinron* ideology inadequate as a descriptive and analytic tool.

I have also demonstrated that the notion of Anglo-Japanese mixing exists in an American and Japanese context. In America it has been viewed in a relatively negative light. In Japan, the notion of *hāfu* (half Japanese/half American) exists in vernacular Japanese and it could be viewed as either a denigrating racial notion linked to the English word 'half-caste' or a positive notion linked to bilingualism (Sekiguchi, 2002). However, in a UK context it has been non-existent or severely limited. The notion of 'mixed race' has seemed to be synonymous with the black/white mixed category as it is the largest mixed group (Aspinall and Song, 2013). It is my intention to move beyond the stereotypical black/white mixed category by focusing on the A-Js as a new mixed category in urban areas in Britain.

As previously stated, my study is based upon a 25 year period of casual/participant ethnographic observation of my two sons combined with a concentrated piece of ethnographically informed fieldwork from September 2008 to July 2011. In the following chapter I will focus on the latter and outline the methodological implications of researching Japaneseness.

Chapter 2 Researching Japaneseness

2.1 Foregrounding my research focus

The main focus of my research is the Anglo-Japanese young people (A-Js) attending the London *Hoshūkō* (Japanese Saturday school) because I wanted to investigate a wider spectrum of young people than my two sons. The reason for researching Japaneseness is as the parent of two Anglo-Japanese sons I am dissatisfied with the fixed biological notion of Japaneseness as promulgated by the ideologies of *Nihonjinron* (see chapter 1) as it excludes the A-Js who are living in urban areas in Britain. It is my aim to problematise such a notion of Japaneseness as well as the black/white mixed category, which has dominated the literature on mixed ethnicities in Britain (Aspinall and Song, 2013). This is because:

‘Black’ juxtaposed to ‘white’, does not easily accommodate individuals who are of mixed descent, or who are bi-cultural and suggest too unitary an experience of ethnic minority (Parker and Song, 1995, p. 242).

Ali (2006, p. 473) sought to ‘challenge existing ways of theorizing and understanding ‘race’ ’ and my research attempts to do this in relation to Japan’s dominant *Nihonjinron* ideology.

I investigated the A-Js self-representations of Japanese language and cultural practices because I regard them as strong markers of their ethnicities. This was the result of a concentrated piece of ethnographically informed fieldwork from September 2008 to July 2011 which took place mainly inside *Hoshūkō*. My research investigated the following: 1) how the category Anglo-Japanese challenges biologically racialised notions of Japaneseness, 2) how the A-Js manage their participation in the educational practices at *Hoshūkō*⁴⁶ which tries to promote notions of Japaneseness in the *Nihonjinron* sense of the word, 3) how Anglo-Japanese young people are marked by notions of Japaneseness in their lives outside *Hoshūkō*, and 4) how the language use and cultural practices of the A-Js connect with widely circulating ideologies of Japaneseness.

In order to research the ethnicities of the A-Js and without having a prescription of what I would find, I tried to put into operation a triangulated research method by drawing on the work of Harris (2006) and Ali (2003). In order to generate data I used ethnographic tools (Green and Bloome, 1997), including (1) participant observation (both in classrooms and in the library), (2) field notes, (3) a language questionnaire adapted from the Secondary School Pupil Survey (Linguistic

⁴⁶ Although I was only present in *Hoshūkō* to research the A-Js, I was also interested in what they said they did outside this environment. This is why I asked them to generate visual data themselves as well as producing written accounts of Japanese language and culture in their lives.

Minorities Project, 1983), (4) a written text produced by the young people, (5) photographs taken by the young people of the important things in their lives (as did Ali, 2003), and (6) conversational interviews. These ethnographic tools enabled me to work towards an ethnographic perspective (Green and Bloome, 1997) within a qualitative framework (as did Harris, 2006). I drew upon theories developed in cultural studies, sociolinguistics, sociology (following Harris, 2006) as well as those developed in education and Japanese studies. The use of a trans-disciplinary approach together with an ethnographic perspective enabled me to tease out the language and cultural practices in which the young people engage (see chapters 5 to 7). Overall my methodological stance enabled me to investigate how the young people represent and perform new ethnicities through language and cultural practices inside and outside *Hoshūkō*.

During my research period inside *Hoshūkō*, I volunteered in the library for a total of 59 hours. I observed lessons for a total of 25 hours and 45 minutes, I observed specific cultural practices⁴⁷ for a total of 10 hours, I generated approximately 204 pages of typed field notes, I received 66 completed questionnaires, and I interviewed 14 young people, 6 parents and 5 teachers. In addition, I received 3 sets of photographs, 3 photo-essays (Pink, 2007) and 4 written accounts (see appendices A and B). All in all, I managed to obtain a wider spectrum of knowledge from differing perspectives about the A-J formation and about *Hoshūkō*, all of this building on 25 years of ethnographic insight and partial insider knowledge.

2.1.1 My research site - *Hoshūkō*

The primary site of my empirical research was the London based *Hoshūkō*, which forms part of an organised network of part-time Saturday schools. It was established in 1965 and it is partly funded⁴⁸ by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology⁴⁹ (MEXT). The senior teachers are appointed by MEXT and are sent from Japan to Britain usually every two years⁵⁰ and the classroom teachers tend to be recruited locally in London (Aizawa, 1999a).

Although *Hoshūkō* was established in 1965, it would seem to fit in with Li Wei's (2006, p. 27) 'second wave of the complementary schools movement' which appeared towards the end of the

⁴⁷ The main cultural events I observed were: *Matsuri* (festival) including *Omochi Takai* (rice pummelling) on two occasions; *Hyakunin Isshu* (card game) (see chapter 5); *Kakizomi* (New Year calligraphy) (see chapter 5); *Sotsugyo Shiki* (graduation ceremony) (see Chapter 5); and *Undokai* (sport's day) (see chapter 6). I also observed low-key acknowledgments of *Tanabata* (star festival); *Kodomo no hi* (Children's Day) and traditional Japanese games. Although I observed many cultural activities, I could not mention them all in my thesis.

⁴⁸ *Hoshūkō* is also funded by tuition fees, and donations from Japanese companies based in this country (Aizawa, 1999a).

⁴⁹ According to MEXT (2008) there are 201 *Hoshūkō* worldwide.

⁵⁰ This is similar to Turkish complementary schools (Creese et al., 2007).

1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. He gives the examples of Chinese, Turkish and Greek schools in England and Scotland which were established to maintain in children the language and cultural practices of their parents. It is difficult to make comparisons between these schools because there would appear to be a great deal of variability even within the schools in the same community (see Blackledge and Creese, 2007) whereas at the three London *Hoshūkō* there has been an attempt to standardise practices.

Hoshūkō's aims would seem to be more precise than those of the other complementary schools in the UK. Although the only subject studied at the London *Hoshūkō* is *kokugo* (language arts of Japanese national language⁵¹), there is an attempt to reproduce the same standard language, literacy and cultural practices in London as in Japan (see chapters 5 and 6). The reason is that *Hoshūkō* was originally established to inculcate the offspring of Japanese company workers (*kaigaishijo*)⁵² living in Britain for extended periods of time, on average three to five years (Yamada-Yamamoto, 1998) with the same *kokugo* curriculum as in Japan. This is because it was thought that participants would return to Japan at the end of such periods (*kikokushijo*)⁵³ and the hope was that they would be able to integrate into the Japanese education system as a result of attending *Hoshūkō* (Fry, 2007). Such a commitment to provide Japanese children with access to the *kokugo* curriculum is in line with Article 26 of the Japanese Constitution, which 'guarantees free compulsory education⁵⁴ for Japanese children between the ages of six and fifteen' (Doerr and Lee, 2009, p. 426).

The London *Hoshūkō* takes place on a Saturday morning between 9.30 and 12.15 and it is located on three London sites. As with other complementary schools two of the *Hoshūkō* take place in a mainstream primary school building (see Blackledge and Creese, 2007), but one takes place on the permanent site of the Japanese full-time day school. On all three sites, there is both a primary⁵⁵ school (*shōgaku*) for young people aged between six and twelve; and a middle school (*chūgaku*) for young people aged between twelve and fifteen⁵⁶, in accordance with Japanese compulsory education. The senior school, (*kōgaku*) for young people aged between fifteen and eighteen, which is loosely equivalent to the English sixth form, only takes place on one of the sites

⁵¹ From here on I will refer to it as Japanese national language and Japanese for native speakers.

⁵² This literally means children overseas. I have called them Sojourner Japanese-Japanese (SJ-J) (see chapter 3).

⁵³ This literally means repatriated/returnee children.

⁵⁴ Only the textbooks are free, there is a charge for tuition.

⁵⁵ I am using British English equivalents here whereas in the literature it is customary to use American English equivalents as the Japanese education system is based on the American system.

⁵⁶ Compulsory schooling in Japan is from six to fifteen.

because this is post-compulsory education⁵⁷ (Aizawa, 1999a). There is also a relatively small *nihongo* (Japanese for non-native speakers) department on the same site which is also non-compulsory education in Japan. This department was originally established for the Anglo-Japanese young people as it was thought they would not be able to cope with the demands of the *kokugo* (Japanese for native speakers) curriculum (see chapter 5).

The reproduction of Japanese language and literacy is assisted in the *kokugo* classes by the use of government prescribed textbooks (*kyōkasho*) provided free of charge by MEXT⁵⁸ (see chapter 5). This is in contrast to the textbooks used in the Chinese complementary schools in Britain which 'are designed especially for overseas Chinese and originally targeted the Chinese communities in North America' (Li Wei and Wu, 2010, p. 35). Although the young people are provided with textbooks for all subjects free of charge at *Hoshūkō*, only the *kokugo* textbooks are used in the classroom.

The existing literature into *Hoshūkō* in a UK context, though relatively sparse (for example, McPake and Powney, 1998; Aizawa, 1999; Furuya-Wise, 1999; and Fry, 2009) has tended to focus on the 'pure' Japanese. During the course of my 11 year connection with *Hoshūkō* I increasingly noticed that not only did the offspring of Japanese company workers attend *Hoshūkō* but also a variety of other Japan-connected people, who had varying degrees of Japanese language proficiency (see chapter 5). What differentiates my research from previous research into *Hoshūkō* and the other UK complementary schools is that I focus on the increasing number of young people of mixed ethnicities in attendance, in particular the Anglo-Japanese. There seems to be virtually no mention of such a grouping in the other complementary schools apart from Chinese complementary schools where Francis *et al.* (2010a) remarked upon the under-representation of Chinese young people of mixed-ethnicities (British/Chinese). What is more the A-Js in my research would seem to be largely compliant with the educational practices at *Hoshūkō*, which again is in contrast to other UK based complementary schools where the British-born young people seemed to challenge the ideologies and educational policies inculcated by the schools (for example, Blackledge and Creese, 2010).

⁵⁷ Although it is not compulsory to attend senior school in Japan, the majority of Japanese-Japanese students do attend. However, in London it is the minority as in 2011 there were 389 students in primary school on one of the London *Hoshūkō* sites and only 68 in senior school at *Hoshūkō* (Japanese School, 2012). What is more, the 68 students come from all three London *Hoshūkō* as there is no senior school at the other two schools.

⁵⁸ The same would seem to be true in the Bangladeshi schools (Creese *et al.*, 2007).

Although *Hoshūkō* may seem to be a highly institutionalised place where unequal power relationships between the young people and the teachers exist (Barker and Weller, 2003), I felt that it was the ideal location to conduct my research using ethnographic tools for many reasons. First of all, it is a space in London where only those who have some knowledge of the Japanese language in terms of aural, oral and literacy (Harris, 2006) congregate. Secondly, because it is an institutionalised setting, it enabled me to investigate what the school was doing to promote Japaneseness in the *Nihonjinron* sense of the word. Moreover, conducting my research at *Hoshūkō* allowed me to investigate both institutionalised language and cultural practises.

In addition to *Hoshūkō*'s role of inculcating Japaneseness, I chose this location because it was a place with which my family and I had strong links. My elder son had attended *Hoshūkō* between the ages of six and eighteen and my younger son had attended between the ages of six and eleven. This meant that I had been to *Hoshūkō* on many occasions as a parent. I was already a familiar face to some of the parents, young people and teachers at *Hoshūkō* as I had been part of the Japanese community for many years (see chapter 3). My partner had been a long standing member of the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) at *Hoshūkō*, which meant that he was particularly well-known at the school. I felt that these strong links meant that I was already a relative insider at *Hoshūkō* but what I had not anticipated was that gaining access would still be problematic (see Section 2.3.1). Maybe I had oversimplified the situation as Young points out:

While researchers cannot be in full control of how they are located by the people whom they study, they can think about the fieldwork experience as involving an amalgamation of insider and outsider positionings that come together to open up as well as restrict access to data (Young, 2004, p. 198).

I initially planned to conduct my research in just one of the London *Hoshūkō* but due to the problems I had gaining access (see section 2.3.1) I also went to another site.

Before starting my main research focus, I started helping in the *Hoshūkō* library as a parent volunteer. I could do this because I already had ID to enter the school and I had met the head of the library at *Daikon Bunkō* (radish library group) many years ago, and she was keen for me to help in the library. This rather privileged position meant that I could observe the comings and goings of *Hoshūkō* quite naturally as a parent helping in the library. Whilst volunteering in the library I tried to start my main research focus which was observing lessons. Originally it had been my intention to focus on one Year 3 middle school class over an extended period of time and choose research participants from this class (as did Harris, 2006) however, this was not possible due to the unwillingness of the teacher to allow me to observe this class over a period of time.

Consequently, I observed several classes both in my capacity as a parent on one site of the London *Hoshūkō* (4 as a parent and 6 as a researcher) (see appendices E, and F) and also some classes (5) on another site. These observations gave me a better insight into *Hoshūkō* than I would otherwise have obtained because I observed both *kokugo* (Japanese for native speakers) and *nihongo* (Japanese as an Additional Language) classes (see chapter 5). These observations raised my awareness of the differing levels of Japanese proficiency of the A-Js. At the time I considered the reluctance of the teacher to allow me to observe the class over an extended period of time as a great inconvenience as my research agenda had been compromised but with the benefit of hindsight I feel that I still managed to generate rich and reflexive data albeit in a different way from my original plan. In the end, I was able to observe many classes with a wide range of ages, which provided me with an insight into the nuances that exist at *Hoshūkō* (see chapter 3).

Following in the footsteps of Whyte (1996) and Lareau (1996), I will next look at some cross-cultural problems I encountered in gaining access to *Hoshūkō*, including implementing an ethical research agenda and obtaining informed consent. It is my aim to provide 'realistic descriptions of how research data are collected' because this is relatively unusual among qualitative researchers (Lareau, 1996, p. 197) and a lot of social research pretends 'that the research was carried out in a 'context-free' manner' (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 66).

2.2 Problematising an ethical research agenda

As a PhD student at King's College, I had to obtain ethical approval from the 'Education and Management Research Ethics Panel' prior to the start of my research. This was a very worthwhile but time consuming process as I had to (1) give a detailed explanation of my intended research, draft (2) a letter and (3) a consent form to the head teacher, (4) write a letter to the parents, (5) prepare an information sheet, and (6) consent form for the parents, and (7) prepare an information sheet and (8) consent form for the young people, (9) prepare my language questionnaire, and (10) prepare the task sheet for the written account/ photo-essay (Pink, 2007). My research was categorised as 'not high risk' and I obtained ethical approval after making just a few amendments to my research proposal.

Having been granted ethical approval, I did not envisage the problems that I would encounter. This was because my research was 'initially formulated as a perfectly coherent research plan with

questions, methods, readings and so on' (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 1). However, 'the 'field' is a chaotic, hugely complex place. Fieldwork is the moment when the researcher climbs down to everyday reality and finds out that the rules of academia are not necessarily the same as those of everyday life' (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 1).

It is clear that the ethics committee at King's college envisaged an idealised notion of the research process which uses 'a set of guidelines that do not take ethnography into account' (Agar, 1996, p. 108). I experienced the reality of ethnographic research practice, which is not 'as clear-cut as the research proposal formats' would suggest (Akeroyd, 1984, p. 140). This is because ethical codes were originally based on a 'biomedical model' (Akeroyd, 1984, p. 147). They cannot be 'mechanically transposed to ethnographic research' as such codes are not 'method-sensitive' and they may unnecessarily and inappropriately constrain ethnographic research (Gobo, 2008, p. 136). This is particularly true if an interpretative understanding of ethnography is assumed rather than a positivist one because the researcher aims to engage in the activities and the concerns of those studied in order to obtain a "deep understanding" (O'Reilly, 2005) of the situated knowledge generated. Therefore, it is important to be sensitive to the values and concerns of everyone involved in the process.

2.2.1 Negotiating access

My first job was to negotiate access to *Hoshūkō* as a researcher. Although it was easy for me to gain partial access as a parent helping in the library, access to the classrooms proved problematic. I feel that negotiating access was 'the most difficult phase in the entire process of ethnographic research' due to the multiple negotiations that needed to be performed with the numerous gatekeepers (Gobo, 2008, p. 118). This is partly because it was a cross-cultural environment so it had to be negotiated through third party native Japanese speakers and partly because it had to be negotiated three times: twice at Figsbury *Hoshūkō* and once at Appleton *Hoshūkō*.

At Figsbury *Hoshūkō*, the intermediary, my partner, negotiated access. This was because as well as being a Japanese native speaker, he also knew the senior teachers at *Hoshūkō*. After having helped in the library six times between September and December 2009, the intermediary explained my research intentions to the *kōshya chō* (which I am calling the deputy head teacher) at the beginning of January 2010 and he gave all the information to him. He in turn passed all the

information onto the *kōchō sensei* (head teacher of the three London sites) who was based on a different site. He wanted all the documents translated into Japanese so that they could fully understand them. This was something which I had previously overlooked as I had wrongly assumed that the senior teachers would be able to understand written English. The intermediary was told that the matter would have to be discussed internally. He was also told that a lot of similar requests are made and that they are not in a position to say yes to everyone, which did not sound very promising. I felt that my research was being subjected to 'close scrutiny' by the gatekeepers (Gobo, 2008, p. 122), which may have been because to them I was an 'unwanted stranger' (Hicks, 1984).

My experience of gaining access to *Hoshūkō* was similar to Fry's as she reported:

In general the schools [full-time Japanese day school and *Hoshūkō*] were very cautious about such non-government-related research - some were reluctant to participate at all [...] (Fry, 2009, p. 371).

However, this was in contrast to Blackledge and Creese's (2010) ESRC funded research into Chinese⁵⁹, Bengali, Gujarati and Turkish complementary schools in the UK whereby the researchers were positively received and the schools were pleased that they had been selected by the research team.

A week passed since access to *Hoshūkō* had been requested and I was starting to become anxious about the whole process. After receiving ethical approval, my assumption had been that this was a green light for the research to go ahead. In retrospect, this assumption seemed somewhat narcissistic as it did not take into consideration the real thoughts and concerns of the gatekeepers. The *Hoshūkō* gatekeepers did not feel obliged to grant access to a non-funded PhD student. This could be because 'much social research may be of no direct use or interest to the people studied' (Akeroyd, 1984, p. 137).

During the process of gaining access to *Hoshūkō* I felt totally powerless. Although in the literature there is a great deal of discussion about the power of the researcher (Hammersley, 1995; Eder and Fingerson, 2002; Ali, 2006), it would seem to be somewhat of an outdated notion as Gobo (2008, p. 141) stipulates, 'the image of the powerful researcher pertains to a pre-World War II conception of the ethnographer'. Ethical approval would seem to have dismantled the researcher's power to a certain degree as the gatekeepers have the power to prevent the researcher from entering the research site (Hammersley, 1995; Goodson and Sikes, 2001; Gobo,

⁵⁹ In the Chinese schools the teachers felt that the research project could help raise the profiles of the schools (Blackledge *et al*, p. 95).

2008). However, what needs to be borne in mind is that the stances of the researchers and participants are not fixed (see section 2.4.1.1) and there may be times when the researchers are in a position of power and times when they are at the behest of the participants.

Three weeks later, after numerous e-mails and telephone calls between the intermediary and the head and deputy head teacher, clarification of how I intended to start my research had been requested because it was felt that this information had not been provided. So the following timetable (from my field notes, 30.01.2010) was e-mailed to them:

Saturday 23 January 2010	Meet the class teacher to explain my research
Saturday 30 January 2010	Give information to the young people
Saturday 06 February 2010	Meet parents and young people to explain my research and to obtain signatures from the young people
Saturday 13 February 2010	Start observations
Finish March 2011	

I asked to observe lessons every other week and to help in the library when not observing, as I thought this would be less intrusive for the class teacher. The deputy head teacher was only compliant with the observations starting on 13 February 2010. I could only observe two lessons⁶⁰ because it was fast approaching the end of the Japanese school year. In April (the beginning of the school year in Japan) there would be a new deputy head teacher. The intermediary would have to recommence negotiations with the new deputy head teacher. This is an example of negotiating access not being an uninterrupted linear process but a process of skilful negotiation and renegotiation (Brewer, 2000, p. 83).

Negotiations with the new deputy head teacher began in April. In May he gave permission for me to observe classes but he said it was up to the individual class teacher to agree (field notes, 22.05.2010). It wasn't until October that I actually managed to observe subsequent classes, I observed four classes: two classes in October (1 hour and 15 minutes and 2 hours and 45 minutes respectively), one class in November (2 hours and 45 minutes) and one in December (1 hour). I also observed 4 one-hour long classes in my capacity as a parent. As the process had been so slow at this particular *Hoshūkō*, I decided to move my research to another *Hoshūkō* site, where I knew one of the class teachers⁶¹. I was not very hopeful as this class teacher had told me that he had not been given permission to observe lessons himself at *Hoshūkō* for his PhD⁶² research (interview, 14.06.2010). My partner initially contacted the school to ask for permission in January 2011. Again progress was slow. As my partner was ill at this time, he was no longer

⁶⁰ I observed two classes lasting 2 hours and 25 minutes each.

⁶¹ It was this contact who arranged the interviews with teachers.

⁶² He was only given permission to watch lessons for one hour during the parent observations.

able to negotiate access. After not having received permission to observe classes, after three weeks my contact approached the deputy head teacher and told him that I could observe his class. Although this was not really the age group (10 – 11) I had intended to observe⁶³, I thought it would be preferable to no observations. The deputy head teacher agreed to this observation. After observing the lesson, my contact and I approached some other class teachers, two of whom I had previously interviewed (see appendix D): one agreed to be observed and one refused. Two further teachers agreed even though I had not interviewed them (see appendix G). The deputy head teacher also agreed to these observations. Again the deputy head teacher was leaving to return to Japan in April. It was at this point that I decided to stop observing lessons at *Hoshūkō*.

My experience illustrates the difficulty of negotiating access especially in a cross cultural environment. Although it was easy for me to gain partial access as a parent volunteer helping in the library, it was difficult to gain access to the classrooms because negotiations had to take place between the intermediary, the head and deputy head teachers and the class teachers. All in all, I was only able to observe 6 classes (a total of 13 hours) in eleven months (from February to December 2010) at one *Hoshūkō* as well as 4 hours of observation as a parent, whereas I observed 5 classes (a total of 8 hours and 45 minutes) in only two months (February to March 2011) at another *Hoshūkō* (see appendix E, F and G). The process at the latter *Hoshūkō* was faster as I had a contact teacher who helped me to gain access. This was because as Lareau (1996, p. 202) points out, '[...] it is very wise to contact respondents through informal channels but, once having secured access, it is important to gain official approval as well'. This is exactly what I did at this *Hoshūkō*.

2.2.2 Obtaining informed consent

In addition to the problems encountered gaining access to *Hoshūkō*, I also encountered problems obtaining informed consent. In order to make my research ethical, I was required to obtain informed consent from the participants. This was particularly problematic because *Hoshūkō* is a cross-cultural context as Akeroyd (1984, p 147) states, '[t]he need for informed consent may present fieldworkers with acute difficulties in relation to cross-cultural contexts [...]'. The first problem I encountered was that the head teacher was reluctant to sign the consent form. The reason for this unwillingness to sign a piece of paper could have been because in Japan a written signature is not commonly used for official documents as it is in Britain; it is customary to use a

⁶³ I originally intended to observe a Year 3 middle school class, the oldest students at *Hoshūkō*, with students aged 14 to 15.

stamp (*hanko*). In addition, the head teacher seemed to think that giving his word for me to conduct my research at *Hoshūkō* was enough and that a signature was unnecessary.

A further problem was that the deputy head would not consent to me talking to the class teacher to explain my research intentions. He felt that it was his role rather than mine to speak to the teacher and to ask her for permission to observe the class, so he forwarded the information to her. The final problem was that I could not arrange a meeting after class with the young people and their parents in order to inform them about my research intentions and to obtain informed consent because the deputy head had several concerns about this. He thought that if the information was given out in class the parents might feel that the research was connected to the school in some way or they might complain to him if they disagreed with the observations (field notes, 30.01.2010). In other words, the deputy head teacher would seem to be worried that the research could damage the image of the school (Gobo, 2008, p. 122). In addition, the head teacher felt that he was the authority at *Hoshūkō* and not the parents so it was not necessary to ask for their permission.

The dilemma I was faced with was should I arrogantly plough ahead with my ethical research agenda by imposing contemporary UK academia's notion of ethics on *Hoshūkō* or should I conduct the research according to the head teacher's terms. This dilemma highlighted the difficulty of resolving the clash in the UK between the (ethical) rule which is too general and the (research) situation which is particular (Gobo, 2008, p. 136). In this instance the situation was not only particular but culturally sensitive. Although I was researching a Japanese Saturday School that was in England, the fixed cultural institutional practices would seem to have been transposed from Japanese onto English soil. As far as I was aware adults involved in *Hoshūkō* were not Criminal Records Bureau (CRB⁶⁴) checked as parents were free to volunteer without being checked. This point was also noted in the Ofsted Report (2008) of the Japanese full time day school. This non-compliance with recent English law suggests that business was being conducted in accordance with Japanese customs. The problem I seemed to be faced with was that the gatekeepers seemed to be applying Japanese understandings of ethical conduct whereas I was trying to impose King's College's understandings of ethical conduct, the two approaches being somewhat divergent. I felt that time and patience was needed in order to find a middle ground, which would be acceptable to all parties.

⁶⁴ This is now referred to as Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) (<https://www.gov.uk/disclosure-barring-service-check/overview> Accessed: 19.02.2014).

If I was to be successful, I realised that I had to take things slowly rather than just sticking rigidly to my own research agenda and risk becoming an 'arrogant ethnographer' (Agar, 1996, p. 91). I chose to conduct my research on the head teacher's terms so that I could start observing classes. This was because negotiating access calls for "compromises" or "research bargains" with the gatekeepers who hold the key to entry into the social world of the young people (Brewer, 2000, p. 83). Obtaining informed consent was obtained verbally, rather than demanding a signature, which would have resembled a pre-packaged approach to research rather than a 'fluid and flexible' (O'Reilly, 2005) ethnographic approach which is 'not so nicely packaged' (Agar, 1996, p. 108). I feel that in order to successfully conduct ethnographic research the people at *Hoshūkō* should not be thought of simply 'in the clinical terms of informants and data' (Cohen, 1984, p. 228) as:

[T]he ethnographer's success does not depend upon intellectual mastery, but upon the competence with which s/he can interact socially with the members of the field studied, and on the help provided by the informants. The latter is of crucial importance, for the [ethnographer] is a nuisance [...]. We intrude upon people and require them to bear the burdens of our presence. Our intellectual task is to represent them fairly. Our moral responsibility is to approach them with humility and integrity. Our use of interviews and informants is not, therefore merely a matter of procedural and methodological principles. It should also be informed by these essentially humane values, for it is in their proper applications that there lies the special competence of ethnography [my word used to replace anthropology] to discover and describe other cultures (Cohen, 1984, pp. 228 - 229).

I believe that my research was more reflexive and broader in scope as a result of the problems I encountered in pursuit of an ethnographic perspective within a qualitative framework.

2.3 Adopting an ethnographic perspective

An ethnographic perspective differs from the notion of doing ethnography (Green and Bloome, 1997). Doing ethnography refers to a broad, in depth longitudinal study of a particular social or cultural group (Green and Bloome, 1997). It has 'an imperial heritage' with its 'roots deeply embedded in colonial anthropology' (Nayak, 2006, p. 413). It traditionally involved white anthropologists becoming totally immersed in the everyday practices of a racially different group, in another country over an extended period of time by applying 'a cultural standard of white normalcy' which 'has led to pathological perceptions of racialized Others as a problem' (ibid) (see chapter 1). An ethnographic perspective, on the other hand, involves researching particular aspects of the everyday life and cultural practices of a particular social group and it is less in-depth than a study in the doing ethnography tradition (Green and Bloome, 1997). As I only conducted my research in *Hoshūkō* on a Saturday morning and not in any other location, it was difficult for me to claim to be doing ethnography in the anthropological sense of the word so the notion of adopting an ethnographic perspective was applicable to my research.

The reason I took an ethnographic perspective was because '[i]t is has the potential and the capacity of challenging established views' [...] and of constructing views which differ 'strongly from established norms and expectations' (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 10). An ethnographic perspective would also seem to be the most appropriate way of trying to realise how Stuart Hall's (1996) anti-essentialist theorisation of new ethnicities and translation could apply to young people in a London setting (as did Harris, 2006). Such an approach enabled me to uncover how the world looks from the young people's perspective. This is because it describes 'the apparently messy and complex activities that make up social action' (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p.11). An ethnographic perspective meant that there was tremendous scope for exploring how the A-Js constructed their ethnicities through language and cultural practices (see chapters 4, 5 and 6) as:

[t]o develop a more refined analysis of process, and garner a deeper understanding of what young people actually do in particular places, ethnography can be a unique instrument with which to probe young people's life worlds ((Nayak, 2003, p. 27).

I investigated how the young people represented and performed new ethnicities inside and outside *Hoshūkō* by adopting an ethnographic perspective and utilising ethnographic tools (Green and Bloome, 1997). Before analysing my ethnographic tools, I will focus on some of the problems associated with operationalising an ethnographic perspective.

2.3.1 Problems with an ethnographic perspective

Three key problems, which can be linked to an ethnographic perspective, are reactivity, subjectivity and researcher bias. This is because ethnography is based on constructionism, which envisages society as not an object-like reality waiting to be discovered by a researcher but as being socially constructed in the process of individuals making sense of their world (Walsh, 2004).

The first problem, 'reactivity', is defined as, 'the effects of audience, and indeed of context generally, on what people say and do' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 102). Blommaert and Dong point out that the effect of the researcher on the data is unavoidable:

As a fieldworker, you never belong 'naturally' or 'normally' to the field you investigate, you are always a foreign body which causes ripples on the surface of smooth routinised processes. **There is always an observer's effect** and it is essential to realise that: you are never observing an event as if you were not there (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 27).

I think I minimised this effect to some extent by not bringing video cameras or audio-equipment to the classrooms (Blommaert and Dong, 2010) which was in contrast to Creese *et al.*'s (2007) observations in eight complementary schools. However, for part of the class at one *Hoshūkō* (field notes, 06.03.2011) I did affect the situation due to my lack of Japanese proficiency. In order to help me understand what was happening in the classroom, the teacher had asked students to

translate their presentations for me into English whereas normally the use of English in the classroom was not encouraged. I felt awkward, as had Martin (in Blackledge and Creese, 2010) when observing classes in Gujarati a language in which he was not proficient, that the teacher interrupted the lesson so that I could understand. Had I been a fluent Japanese speaker, this scenario would not have happened⁶⁵.

Another problem linked to 'reactivity' is the perceptions of the young people and teachers about the researcher. In one class I observed one student asked me whether I was from the FBI and another thought I was there to check her Japanese ability.

The teacher introduces me to the class in Japanese, which seems to cause a commotion. She asks if they have any questions. One boy asks if I am spying on them from the FBI. Another girl is worried that I am going to check her Japanese ability. She asks the teacher to use 'easy words' so that she can do well. I introduce myself in English. They seem worried about my role in the classroom. One boy asks me what I think of them and I say that I think that they are all good at Japanese because they attend *Hoshūkō* (Field notes, 12.02.2011).

Another problem linked to an ethnographic perspective is that of subjectivity. This is because 'reality is subjective and is known only as it is experienced by individuals' (Pink, 2007, p. 24). Shipman (1997) points out that the observer may only see what s/he wants to see. This is because the observer enters the field with a specific research agenda of what is to be observed. Shipman (1997, p. 38) believes that participant observers may be guided by preconceptions as:

Ideas do not spring direct from observations in the field. The mind of the researcher is 'programmed', 'energized', 'keyed', with ideas from a social science that 'disciplines' the production of ideas.

However, Blommaert and Dong stress that subjectivity is part and parcel of an ethnographic perspective:

The result of your research will *not* be a body of findings which can claim representativeness for a (segment of the) population, it will not be replicable under *identical* circumstances, it will not claim objectivity on grounds of an outsider's position for the researcher, it will not claim to produce 'uncontaminated' evidence, and so on. It will be interpretive research in a situated, real environment, based on interaction between the researcher and the subject(s), hence, fundamentally subjective in nature, aimed at demonstrating complexity. [...] Ethnography produces theoretical statements, not 'facts' nor 'laws'. [...] The object of investigation is always a *uniquely situated reality*: a complex of events which occurs in a totally unique context [...]. [...] you are always working in a series of conditions that can never be repeated. [...] So the thing you will investigate will be a particular point in time [...] (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 17).

My stance, too, is that subjectivity cannot be avoided when adopting an ethnographic perspective and it is necessary in order to uncover the complexity of the context.

Linked to the notion of subjectivity is researcher bias. This is because the researcher interprets knowledge which has been constructed through interaction (Gallagher, 2009). Holstein and

⁶⁵ I seemed to have overlooked the question of my language use which is common with anthropologists who do not like to admit that 'they have not been fluent in the language spoken where they did their fieldwork' (Borchgrevink, 2003, p. 102). I like Martin (in Blackledge and Creese, 2010, p. 92) felt 'frustrated because I was unable to understand everything that was happening in the classrooms'.

Gubrium (2004) believe that 'bias' only exists if a narrow view of interpretive practice is taken.

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p. 102) believe it is impossible to completely avoid bias:

The aim is not to gather 'pure' data that are free from potential bias. There is no such thing. Rather, the goal must be to discover the best manner of interpreting whatever data we have, and to collect further data that enable us to develop and check our inferences.

The concept of bias would seem to be a redundant concept when adopting an ethnographic perspective within a qualitative framework as it is necessary to focus on how useful information can be generated and on the processes used to generate such information (Holstein and Gubrium, 2004, p.145). I, like Harris (2006), stuck closely to what the informants said when assigning meaning to the data by including their self-representations rather than offering a magisterial account of what they said. I tried to stay true to my data because I only mentioned the institutions, practices and objects that were salient to my informants even though I was aware that these were only the tip of the iceberg as in reality a great deal more existed (see chapter 7). In addition, I did not prompt my informants to only focus on their Japaneseness whilst talking to them, they were also free to talk about their Britishness even though this was not my focus.

In order to guard against 'reactivity', 'subjectivity' and researcher 'bias' in the construction of knowledge, ethnography is understood as a reflexive approach (Ali, 2006; Pink, 2007; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Pink (2007, p. 24) points out that, 'it is important to recognise the centrality of the subjectivity of the researcher to the production of ethnographic knowledge'. Pink acknowledges that a reflexive approach may only be a token gesture in the avoidance of subjectivity as:

At the end of the twentieth century postmodern thinkers argued that ethnographic knowledge and text can only ever be a subjective construction, a 'fiction' that represents only the ethnographer's version of a reality, rather than an empirical truth (Pink, 2007, p. 23).

Emerson *et al.* (1995, p. 3) believe that, 'the task of the ethnographer is not to determine "the truth" but to reveal the multiple truths apparent in others' lives'. Pink (2007, p. 23) argues that it is 'through the intersubjectivity between researchers and their research contexts that we may arrive at a closer understanding of the worlds that other people live in'. In order to get close to the worlds of the A-Js I used an ethnographic perspective with multiple ethnographic tools.

2.4 My ethnographic tools

As previously stated, during my research process I used the following ethnographic tools: (1) participant observation, (2) ethnographic field notes, (3) a language questionnaire (following Harris, 2006), (4) mediated data in terms of photographs generated by the young people

themselves (following Ali, 2003), (5) a piece of writing/photo essay (Pink, 2007) by the young people about Japanese language and culture in their lives (following Harris, 2006), and (6) conversational interviews which were audio-recorded. My ethnographic tools meant that I could gain firsthand experience of everyday occurrences in *Hoshūkō* through primary sources rather than secondary sources.

I will now outline my reasons for using these multiple ethnographic tools, the limitations of implementing such tools and how I tried to mitigate these limitations.

2.4.1 Participant observation

I conducted approximately 94 hours and 45 minutes of participant observation at *Hoshūkō*: in the library, in classrooms, in the hall, in the playground, and on the field. Participant observation meant that I was the main research instrument (Walsh, 2004). This is because I had to gain access into *Hoshūkō* prior to my research, I had to establish relations with the adults and young people, help in the library, observe the classes, conduct the interviews, write field notes and write up the research.

I chose to use participant observations for the following reasons. First of all, I felt that it helped me to investigate the taken-for-granted practices of life in *Hoshūkō* and to experience these practices from a different perspective from that of a pupil or of a teacher (Gallagher, 2009). In other words, participant observation allowed me to gain detailed insights into the mundane, every day practices occurring inside *Hoshūkō* rather than focusing on spectacular events (Gallagher, 2009; Harris, 2006). Participant observation also allowed me to observe details which the young people may not have considered relevant enough to mention in conversational interviews (Gallagher, 2009). Moreover, it allowed me to observe what the young people actually did at *Hoshūkō* rather than relying solely on what they said they did (Gallagher, 2009; Cohen *et al.*, 2000). However, I was aware that I was just one of the social actors in the scenes I was researching.

2.4.1.1 Different stances in participant observation

As I was positioned in various locations during the 94 hours and 45 minutes of participant observation at *Hoshūkō*, the participatory stances I adopted were not fixed and stable. They changed according to the context and the relationship between myself and the other social actors present.

Junker (1960) cited in Walsh (2004, p. 229) outlines four stances⁶⁶ in participant observation: complete participant, complete observer, participant as observer and observer as participant. Complete participant implies covert observation; the researcher is carrying out research without anyone being aware of this. This could be a class teacher researching her own class without informing the students. According to Mitchell (1993, cited in Cohen *et al.*, 2000, p. 314) covert participant observation has become a largely unacceptable research method because it violates the tenets of informed consent, invades the privacy of individuals and the places they inhabit, treats the individuals as research objects and places the researcher in a misrepresented position. Although it is considered to be unacceptable, it can generate a complete understanding of the situation (Walsh, 2004). It could be argued that when I was in the library my research was to some extent covert. Only the head of the library knew that I was a PhD student, the other mothers saw me as a volunteer. I was also a covert observer when I was observing my younger son's class and the cultural events as I was positioned as a parent and not as a researcher. Although it was relatively easy for me to adopt this positioning, it was impossible for me to become fully integrated in the group because I was a White British mother and all the other mothers with whom I came into contact were seemingly Japanese, so I stood out both racially and linguistically.

The second stance is that of complete observer. This means that the researcher observes people without any social interaction with those being observed in order to reduce the possibility of reactivity. An extreme example of this would be to observe students through a one way mirror (Walsh, 2004). However, this quasi-scientific stance has serious limitations as the observer may not be able to understand the meanings of the people being observed and, therefore, an alien framework of meaning could be imposed on the events (Walsh, 2004). Moreover, it would also be problematic in terms of understanding what the people being researched made of their world due to a lack of social interaction. Although the roles of complete participant and complete observer are both covert, they form opposite poles of a continuum which move from 'complete participation' to 'complete detachment' (Cohen *et al.*, 2000, p. 311). I feel that at times my positioning at Figsbury *Hoshūkō* bore similarities to that of complete observer even though this had never been my intention. This was because the teachers of the classes I observed at Figsbury were not over enthusiastic about my presence so I like Lareau (1996) mainly watched the lessons from the back

⁶⁶ Although Walsh (2004) uses the word role I have replaced it with stance/positioning because these words are more nuanced than the fixity of role.

of the classroom. In addition, I like Lareau felt, 'painfully out of place' (Lareau, 1996, p. 205). This was because I was a White British middle-aged female whose Japanese proficiency was lower than that of those being observed. However, I did interview three of the young people from the two classes I observed at Figsbury, so I could gain some understanding of how they made sense of their worlds.

For much of the time during the observations at Figsbury *Hoshūkō* I felt like a fly on the wall or a silent observer. Although Emerson *et al.* (1995, p. 3) state that during participant observation 'the field worker cannot and should not attempt to be a fly on the wall', I argue that not all ethnographic contexts can readily lend themselves to effective participation by the researcher especially in a cross-cultural environment. Each ethnography is context specific so no two situations are identical. Moreover, the stances of the observer (and the participants) are not fixed and static but are changeable over time (Walsh, 2004). No one rule is suitable for the myriad of contexts that exist. My research involved the difficulty of participation in a predominately teacher-centred Japanese speaking classroom environment.

The third stance, participant as observer, means that the researcher informs the people being observed of his/her intentions and there is an emphasis on participation and social interaction rather than on observation so that a trusting relationship can be developed (Walsh, 2004). However, with this method there may be the problem of reactivity and over-rapport if too close a relationship is formed (*ibid*).

The fourth stance, observer as participant, means that the emphasis is on observation rather than on participation. As there is little interaction with those being observed, certain lines of inquiry may be missed and the activities of those being observed may be misunderstood (*ibid*). In one particular class I observed in Appleton *Hoshūkō* I feel I was somewhere between these two stances (field notes, 06.03.2011), which is considered commonplace in overt ethnographic research (Walsh, 2004). I feel that this was because the teacher was happy to let me observe her class. I had already interviewed her so she knew me and as previously stated she tried to include me in part of the lesson by asking students to translate their presentations for me (field notes, 05.03.2011). As the teacher was happy and enthusiastic about my presence, some of the young people seemed to mirror this behaviour and they came up to speak to me in the break time.

I am writing my notes when all of a sudden a Japanese boy comes to speak to me about my research. He is really interested in my research and why I'm doing it. I tell him about my two sons etc. I talk to him for about five minutes. He tells me that he has been in England for three years but he has only just started *Hoshūkō*

because he didn't know about the school. I ask him where his parents are from and he says they are both Japanese. I tell him that his English is good and he says that he went to international school in Japan and in the Philippines. I ask him how long he is staying in England and he says he doesn't know. He also told me that he is at university. I am surprised. So he said that he dropped down a year at *Hoshūkō* so that he could stay for longer as there would be no point in going just for a couple of months. Then there are about six more students standing around me. Taishi asks me if I am Richard's [my younger son] mum. I say yes. He asks about my research and then he tells me he wants to be a doctor⁶⁷. Another Japanese girl says she recognises me from Mote Side School⁶⁸. She says she is in year 13. I say that my son is in year 9 and my other son is at university. I'm quite surprised that she recognises me. [...] Taishi asks me what my older son is doing at university and I tell him. Some of them are trying to read my notes so I explain to them what I am doing. One boy says it is really unusual to have a white person in the class (field notes, 05.03.2011).

This is in stark contrast to what I experienced at the other *Hoshūkō* where no one spoke to me in the break time. At this particular *Hoshūkō* some of the young people saw me as someone who was interesting, one saw me as a familiar face and another saw me in racialised terms as a White British researcher. This was an example of a moment in the field when my stance was clearly as a participant observer.

The stances adopted by myself during participant observation at *Hoshūkō* changed throughout the fieldwork process. When I was in the library I positioned myself as a parent volunteer which meant that I was participating in many of the practices which I was observing. When I was observing in the classrooms, the level of participation was partly dependent upon the teacher's perception of my presence in the classroom. My stance went from that of a 'fly on the wall' (Emerson *et al.*, 1995) to that of participant observer. When I was observing my younger son's class and the regulatory practices I was generally positioned as a parent at *Hoshūkō* and I was a complete observer as participation was generally not required. The different stances I adopted at *Hoshūkō* affected the type of field notes that I could write because 'field notes are writings produced in or in close proximity to the 'field'' (Emerson *et al.*, 1995, p. 353). This illustrates the interconnectivity of participant observation and writing field notes which form the core data in the tradition of the doing of ethnography (Emerson *et al.*, 1995).

2.4.2 Ethnographic field notes

As previously stated I generated approximately 204 pages of typed field notes from my observations at *Hoshūkō*⁶⁹. Field notes are considered primary data in the doing of ethnography and they are key in producing constructions of the practices of the research participants (Creese *et al.*, 2008). They are the researcher's first attempt at transforming the lived experiences during participant observation into written accounts (Emerson *et al.*, 2001). However, the ethnographer cannot record everything in the field notes and s/he will be exposed to various points of view and

⁶⁷ Taishi's brother was a friend of my younger son. I was really surprised that Taishi started talking to me as he hadn't done this before even though I had given him a lift to Football Club Japan (FCJ) in the past.

⁶⁸ This is the primary school which my two sons had attended.

⁶⁹ In addition, I also wrote field notes from memory when transcribing the conversational interviews.

priorities (Emerson *et al.*, 1995). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p. 142) believe that '[f]ield notes are always selective: it is not possible to capture everything. And there is a trade-off between breadth of focus and detail'. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p. 147) argue that:

Field notes cannot possibly provide a comprehensive record of the research setting. The ethnographer acquires a great deal more tacit knowledge than is ever contained in the written record. He or she necessarily uses 'head notes' or memory to fill in and recontextualize recorded events and utterances.

Field notes 'are often messy, fragmented and complex creations of ourselves and the other selves in the field' (Coffey, 1999, p. 122). This suggests that the writing of field notes is not a straight forward process as activities are 'not *linear and coherent* but multiple, layered, chequered and unstable. [...]' (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p.11). What is more 'Ethnography tries to [...] describe the apparently messy and complex activities that make up social action, not to reduce their complexity but to describe and explain it' (*ibid*).

The way in which my field notes were constructed was sometimes dependent upon my level of participation at *Hoshūkō*. When I was positioned as a parent, for example, when volunteering in the library, observing my younger son's class, and observing the institutionalised practices, I could not openly make notes. In the library note taking was not possible because I was trying to experience a 'more natural, open experience of others' worlds and activities' (Emerson *et al.*, 1995, p. 19) by participating in the day-to-day running of the library so it did not seem appropriate to start writing in this environment. The same was true when I was observing my younger son's class and the institutionalised regulatory practices in the public gaze (see chapter 6) as the focus was on observation as a parent rather than as a researcher. This meant that I had to take 'mental notes of certain details and impressions' (*ibid*) and then write-up my observations from memory at a later date. This highlights the pivotal role that memory plays in the ethnographic construction of field notes (Coffey, 1999, p. 127).

When observing in the classrooms at *Hoshūkō* I was what Emerson *et al.* (1995, p. 19) refer to as 'participating-in-order-to-write'. When observing new classes I took notes of my '*initial impression*' including the physical environment, number of students in the class, gender, racialised features, and dress (*ibid*, p. 26). I tried to make notes in a chronological way writing the times next to the events at ten-minute intervals. So much seemed to be happening; the language practices were varied and diverse and there were so many low key cultural practices to observe, that it was difficult to organise 'the chaos of life on a linear page' (*ibid*, p. 358). I was also faced with the dilemma of what to write as there was 'always more going on than the ethnographer can notice,

and it is impossible to record all that can be noticed' (Emerson *et al.*, 1995, p. 63). I wrote about the events that seemed 'significant' and I ignored that which did not seem significant (Emerson, *et al.*, 2001), which could be seen as highly subjective practice (see section 2.3.1). However, what I considered 'significant' was based on 25 years of tacit knowledge accrued while raising my two A-J sons. My field notes were more like 'a filter than a mirror reflecting the "reality" of events (*ibid*, p. 358). At times I felt distracted from noticing other interactions and activities as I was writing my notes (Emerson *et al.*, 1995, p. 23). I was torn between making notes and observing. As a result my notes were messy and often difficult to decipher at a later date. I wrote 'immediate fragments of action and talk to serve as focal points for later writing accounts of these events in as much detail' as I could remember (Emerson *et al.*, 1995, p. 32).

I disciplined myself to writing and/or constructing a full account of my observations on the same day as they had occurred. This was because I was aware of the importance of the writing-up of field notes immediately (Lareau, 1996), which was not always easy due to my 'hybrid pattern of commitments' (*ibid*, p. 220). I often had to go to work straight after observing at *Hoshūkō*, and then come home and cook a meal for my family. On such occasions, I would find myself writing late in the evening. Typically, I divided my typed notes into three sections. First of all, I described the happenings in as much detail as possible relying on my field notes and/or my memory. This is because:

producing full field notes from jottings is not a mechanical process. The fieldworker must construct something out of these bits and pieces of information together with the recollections of events, incidents and experiences [...] (Emerson *et al.*, 1995, p. 49).

Typing detailed accounts shortly after participating in the library or observing cultural events at *Hoshūkō* with no 'jottings' to rely on was a way of 'releasing the weight' of all the happenings that I had recently experienced (Emerson *et al.*, 1995, p. 40). In my typed accounts I often included pictures of Japanese cultural practices from the internet or from Snapfish⁷⁰ as I was trying to convey something about the world that I had recently observed to my supervisor, who was unfamiliar with that world (*ibid*, p. 45) (see section 2.5). Then I included my observations of the events, which were my interpretations and analyses of the events based on my prior experiences. Finally, I tried to link my field notes to theory by linking them to my literature review and to my methodological chapter. This meant that I was writing descriptive notes, analytical notes,

⁷⁰ Snapfish is a web based service for sharing photographs amongst its members. The photographs were taken by Yuri (Japanese-Japanese mother or two A-J children) at *Hoshūkō* and she allowed me to view these photographs via Snapfish.

theoretical notes and methodological notes (Emerson *et al.*, 2001). The organisation of the 204 pages of typed field notes was facilitated by the use of NVivo software.

I feel that my 94 hours and 45 minutes of participant observation at *Hoshūkō* in the library, in classrooms, in the hall, in the playground and on the field watching cultural events was consolidated by the 204 pages of typed field notes that I made. Although constructing field notes can be seen as highly problematic, I regard field notes as an important part of my data as they provide:

the primary means for deeper appreciation of how field researchers come to grasp and interpret the actions and concerns of others. In this respect, field notes offer subtle and complex understandings of these others' lives, routines and meanings (Emerson *et al.* 1995, p. 13).

The next ethnographic tool I will focus on is the language questionnaire.

2.4.3 The language questionnaire

As previously stated, I obtained 66 completed language questionnaires from the young people even though administering the questionnaire was problematic. Ideally, I would have given questionnaires to everyone in the classes I observed and let the young people take them home. Then I could have given an exact rate of return number. However, the fieldwork conditions were not easy as there were varying degrees of co-operation from teachers. So what I decided to do was to collect the maximum number of returns that I could. My concern was not with securing quantitative reliability and validity, but with securing a quantity of questionnaire responses under difficult fieldwork conditions. I administered the questionnaires in various ways. Some of them were administered on an *ad hoc* basis. This was because many teachers at Figsbury *Hoshūkō* were reluctant to co-operate directly with my research in the classroom so I thought it was better to administer the questionnaires outside the classroom. My partner administered questionnaires to some of the parents he knew whose children were pupils in the classes I had observed as well as to pupils in other classes. Some interviewees, who had left *Hoshūkō* or who had not received one previously, completed the questionnaire before the interviews.

In three of the classes at Appleton *Hoshūkō* where I felt the teachers were co-operative with my research the questionnaires were administered within the classroom. In the two upper classes (aged 13-17), the questionnaires were completed in fifteen minutes at the end of the lesson and they were handed directly to me. All the students completed the questionnaires but some more fully than others. In another class students took them home to complete. The pupils were relatively young (aged 10 –11) and fifteen minutes were available at the end of the lesson for me

to help them with problems they might have completing it at home. I gave them envelopes so that they would know that only I would be reading the questionnaires and not the class teacher. I did this in order to avoid the 'wider institutional processes of surveillance and control' as it is usual for teachers to oversee everything that occurs in the classroom (Barker and Weller, 2003, p. 214). Ten of the fifteen pupils (66%) in the class returned the questionnaire the following week in the envelopes provided.

I feel that the language questionnaire was a good way of starting self-reported data elicitation to gain some relative factual information about the young peoples' language use (following Harris, 2006). The questionnaire I used was adapted from the one used in the Secondary Pupils Survey, which was designed for completion by the students themselves as part of the authoritative Linguistic Minorities Project (1983, p. 65) to investigate linguistic diversity in schools. However, there were some problems associated with this questionnaire. It was very long (60 questions) and complex as there was a colour coded bi-lingual and mono-lingual route so that no one would be excluded from completing the questionnaire (Linguistic Minorities Project, 1983, p. 61). In practice this dual route made the questionnaire complicated to follow. This meant that some pupils appeared to pick the wrong route and as a result, some questions were inappropriate to their situation (Linguistic Minorities Project, 1983). In spite of these shortcomings, the questionnaire was deemed suitable for secondary school pupils from as young as 11 with varying degrees of help from the teacher. This suggests that the wording of the questions was appropriate for young people and it was made young-person-friendly with the use of illustrations. In a later project to obtain data about the languages of London's schoolchildren (Baker and Eversley, 2000), a less complicated and shorter questionnaire was used, which seemed to be based on the one used in the Linguistic Minorities Project as some of the questions were similar.

My questionnaire would seem to lie somewhere between the two authoritative studies mentioned above as there were 41 questions in total. I included a cover sheet which explained the purpose of the questionnaire in simple terms and I emphasised that participation was voluntary in order to make it ethical. In order to make it young person friendly, I used pale green paper rather than white paper and I also included some illustrations, some of which were characters from Japanese *anime* (cartoons) and *manga* (comics). It was the younger participants (aged 10 – 11) who seemed enthusiastic about my questionnaire and appreciated the illustrations as is evidenced from my field notes:

The teacher tells them about the questionnaire. They seem excited. I go through it with them page by page. They seem very interested. We get to the section about languages learnt at school and someone says does it have to be a modern language and I say no any language. She says because I learn Latin. After the brief explanation in English I sit down again. Someone says why have we got an English questionnaire at Japanese school. They are all looking at the questionnaire. They seem to like the pictures and they quickly notice the Japanese writing. One of them asks Takashi [the class teacher] who wrote the questionnaire (*Dare ga kata no?*) and she said Catherine. Some of them clap and look round at me. They have lots of questions about the questionnaire so Takashi tells them to ask me. They line up. Some speak in Japanese and some speak in English. One boy asks if he can answer the questions in Japanese and I say yes. One of them asks me how many languages I can speak. I say that I can speak some Japanese as I have a Japanese husband. They ask me general questions about how to fill in the questionnaire. They look at my notes. They seem pleased to be able to get a good look at me and at what I am doing. They then pack up. They put the questionnaires in the envelopes in their bags (field notes, 19.02.2011).

I felt that the young people in this class were interested in the questionnaire because Takashi (the class teacher) was enthusiastic about it so the pupils mirrored her enthusiasm.

My questionnaire was divided into 6 separate sections. The first section asked about the languages the young people spoke before starting school and the extent to which they can understand, speak, read and write them now. The second section asked questions about the languages they use when talking to family and friends and the languages their family and friends use when speaking to them. The third section asked questions about the languages they learn at school and how well they speak and write these languages. As the questionnaires were administered to Japanese speaking young people who attend/or have attended *Hoshūkō* rather than in a mainstream school, which was the case with the questionnaire administered by the Linguistic Minorities Project and with Harris (2006), I could ask some more specific questions. I included a section about learning Japanese. I asked whether they had attended a Japanese nursery school, a *Bunkō* (Japanese library group) or *juku* (a private Japanese school). I asked some general closed questions about *Hoshūkō* such as 'How old were you when you started?' and I also included two open questions: What do you like about *Hoshūkō*? What do you dislike about *Hoshūkō*? I felt these questions might give a voice to a shy young person (Tisdall *et al.*, 2009, p. 6), who might have been reluctant to voice opinions about *Hoshūkō* in an interview situation. However, this was not necessarily the case as the majority of people said that they liked everything about *Hoshūkō* and it was only in the conversational interview that their real feelings were expressed (see section 6.3.3).

The fifth section was about the languages spoken in the wider family. I tried to ascertain the languages their parents, grandparents, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, and cousins, had grown up speaking. At the end of the questionnaire, I asked them some general questions about when and where they were born, how long they had lived in England and whether they were going to move back to Japan. I also asked two questions about where their parents were born, which

helped me to distinguish their different Japanese positionings (see section 3.3). However, there was a problem with this because sometimes the information received was not so clear cut. For example, one of the A-Js wrote that his father was born in India, the assumption being that he was racially Indian. His father happened to be one of the two fathers I interviewed so I discovered that although he was born in India he was in fact racially White British.

Finally, I included a lined page for the young people to add any further comments, although not many of the informants completed this section. I felt that all 41 questions were relevant to the young people at *Hoshūkō*. In addition, it was less complicated to complete than the questionnaire administered by the Linguistic Minorities Project with the either/or mono lingual or bi lingual route and less time consuming than the one administered by Harris (2006) which included all 60 of the original questions. However, the circumstances I was working in were less ideal than Harris' (2006), whose research was situated in a mainstream school in London. Harris (2006) had taught three lessons on linguistic diversity to his informants prior to administering his questionnaire whereas at *Hoshūkō* the time available was very limited. In addition, some of the pupils had only seen me for the duration of a lesson before receiving the questionnaire so they could not really understand what they were doing and it all seemed somewhat rushed. In addition, some of the young people had not even met me, which again was in contrast to Harris (2006) who was at his research site for over a year before he administered his questionnaire.

I feel that a questionnaire is a suitable research method even within a qualitative framework as it enabled the young people to reflect on their language experiences. I chose a questionnaire because it would have been difficult to obtain such relative factual information about their language use in the wider setting of the family by any other means. A questionnaire was suitable when researching with young people because they may be familiar with the format of questionnaires as it may have been part of a mainstream school project (Gallagher, 2009). Such self-reported information was also used as a springboard for the conversational interviews. The aim of the questionnaires was to elicit detailed qualitative data which could be used to initiate a discussion in the recorded conversational interviews rather than for purely quantifying purposes. Although administering the questionnaires was problematic, the information from the questionnaires together with my field notes enabled me to establish some of the different Japanese ethnic positionings that exist at *Hoshūkō* (see chapter 3). To the questionnaire data I tried to add elicited visual data.

2.4.4 Visual data

As previously mentioned, I received 3 sets of photographs from the 14 people I interviewed and 3 'photo-essays' (Pink, 2007) (see appendices A and B). I initially asked the young people in my study to take photographs of objects or people which are important in their lives (following Ali, 2003). Such data would allow myself to access knowledge about their lives outside *Hoshūkō*, in which would otherwise be difficult for myself to participate (Pink, 2007). This was because 'careful use of images informants produce for us can greatly benefit ethnographic research' (Pink, 2007, p. 91). Moreover, Ali (2006, p. 478) believed that researchers can have a great deal of power when working with young people, so it was hoped that by involving the young people in the research process it might help to redress the power imbalances in the research process between myself and the young people by enabling the young people to 'become co-producers of "data"' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 149). However, in reality the young people in my research were reluctant to take photographs as Yukio (aged 16), who chose not take photographs prior to the interview, stated, 'I don't really understand the photo thing [...] will like they be seen by other people' (Yukiko, A-J female aged 16, interview 21.04.2011). Yukiko seemed reluctant to provide photographs because she did not want other people looking at them⁷¹.

Of the visual data I did manage to obtain, some of it was 'highly illuminating in making sense of how participants consume spaces and objects' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 149). However, Hana (aged 19) sent pictures downloaded from the internet rather than of 'real' photographs. Some took photographs of objects such as ballet shoes, a clarinet and a computer. I also asked the young people to produce a piece of writing entitled 'Japanese language and culture in my life' (following Harris, 2006). In order to make this task less tedious, I suggested including some photographs to illustrate their written text so it may become a 'photo-essay' (Pink, 2007).

In order to encourage the young people to take part in my research, I went to two classes at Appleton *Hoshūkō*⁷². I showed them examples of photographs I had received and pieces of writing. At the time many seemed interested but not one person contacted me. I feel that it was because I was burdening participants by asking them to produce photographs and a written text. Many of the young people were high achievers which meant that they were very busy with

⁷¹ When I told my younger son about my research intentions, he thought I was some sort of 'paedophile' asking for photographs and he said he would not have taken photographs either.

⁷² I also e-mailed some mothers to ask their children if they would take part in my research. The mothers were very interested but the children were not.

mainstream school work including instrumental lessons, *Hoshūkō* work, extracurricular activities, and GCSE and/or A Level Japanese. In addition, it would have been easier if I had had permission to interview the young people at *Hoshūkō* rather than having to arrange interviews outside *Hoshūkō*.

I felt that the notion of a powerful researcher did not seem to materialise in my research experience. This could have been due to the ethical nature of my research in that 'the relationship between researcher and researched involves little exercise of power by the researcher. Indeed, very often it is the people studied who have most of the power [...]' (Hammersley, 1995, p, 109). However, as previously stated, I did manage to obtain 3 sets of photographs, and 3 photo-essays. These visual data together with the language questionnaires acted as a springboard for the conversational interviews which enabled me to obtain the self-representations of the meanings of the images and texts of the young people.

2.4.5 Conversational interviews

As previously stated, I conducted 14 conversational interviews with the young people (see appendix A and B), 6 with parents (see appendix C) and 5 with *Hoshūkō* teachers (see appendix D). The interviews with the young people ranged from 20 to 59 minutes in length, the interviews with parents ranged from just over 45 minutes to 4 hours and the interviews with the teachers ranged from just over an hour to 2 hours. In total this was approximately 30 hours of recorded interviews. As I did not receive permission to conduct interviews in *Hoshūkō* buildings they took place in various locations: the informants' homes, my home, university foyer, university classroom, university café/bar and in hotels in both London and Cambridge.

I chose to interview the young people for many reasons. The conversational interviews allowed me to listen to their own interpretations and thoughts because the interviewees could 'speak in their own voices and with their own language' (Byrne, 2004, p. 182), which was predominately English with some Japanese words (cultural concepts) inserted. I listened to their voices rather than relying on the interpretations of other adults (Eder and Fingerson, 2002). They allowed me to discuss topics which were salient to their lives (*ibid*). In addition, I chose to interview some parents and teachers to supplement the accounts of the young people. I obtained some insider information about what it means to be a parent of a young person attending *Hoshūkō* and the workings of *Hoshūkō* (see chapter 5). However, I am not claiming to provide real 'facts' about

their social worlds (Byrne, 2004), rather it is 'one possible version of the social world' (Byrne, 2004, p. 182). In other words, 'it is a particular *representation* or *account* of an individual's views and opinions' (Byrne, 2004, p. 182). I felt I collected accounts of what the interviewees felt was important to their lives and how they wanted to represent their lives which was made possible through the use of conversational interviews.

In the research methods literature, the term conversational interview (Harris, 2006) does not seem to be widely used. Some of the preferred terms include: ethnographic interviews (Heyl, 2001), qualitative interviews (Byrne, 2004; Warren, 2002), or just simply interviews (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Holstein and Gubrium, 2004). However, Cohen (1984, p. 226) and Blommaert and Dong (2010, p. 44) believe that an (ethnographic) interview is a conversation. I feel that the word conversational interview is a more precise term as it implies that a conversation is taking place rather than a formal interview. Therefore, I, as did Harris (2006), regarded myself as an ethnographic researcher conducting conversational interviews. During the conversational interviews I had a list of topics rather than questions (Blommaert and Dong, 2010). I also had the questionnaires so I could form statements: 'You wrote /'You said' rather than 'the bomb shell effect of a point-blank question'⁷³ (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 47). This helped to give the feeling of an informal discussion rather than an interview. When I did ask questions, I tried to make them open ended. No two interviews were exactly the same as some branched off in different directions to others (see Blommaert and Dong, 2010).

Traditionally interviews may not have been regarded as valid accounts by ethnographers in the 'doing ethnography' (Green and Bloome, 1997) tradition. This was because such ethnographers tended to regard unsolicited accounts more valid than solicited accounts (Walsh, 2004; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Naturally occurring data was thought to be more spontaneous and less "staged" than interviews (Holstein and Gubrium, 2004). However, Holstein and Gubrium (2004, p. 155) believe that 'the interview is becoming more and more commonplace, increasingly making it a naturally occurring occasion in its own right for articulating experience'. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p. 103) also stress that, 'there is an increasing tendency for qualitative research, even that labelled as ethnographic, to rely exclusively on interview data.' Thus, interviews can be used when adopting an ethnographic perspective because:

⁷³ This would seem to be in contrast to Francis *et al.*'s (2010, p. 93) interviews in a Chinese complementary school whereby the interviewer asks a 'point blank question' and the respondent has to answer the question, which gives the respondents less agency over the interview.

[t]here is no reason, then, for ethnographers to shy away from the use of interviews, where these are viable. Interviewing can be an extremely important source of data: it may allow one to generate information that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to obtain otherwise [...] (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 102).

Moreover,

[T]he aim of ethnography goes beyond the provision of a description of what occurred in a particular setting over a certain period of time, there may be positive advantages to be gained from subjecting people to verbal stimuli different from those prevalent in the setting in which they normally operate. In other words, the 'artificiality' of the interview, when compared with 'normal' events in the setting, may allow us to understand how participants would behave in other circumstances, [...] (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 108).

However, it is necessary to remember that interviews 'are never *simply* conversations, because the ethnographer has a research agenda and must retain some control over the proceedings' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 117).

As a conversation is a two way process, I audio recorded the interviews as I could not make any field notes due to my participation in them. I believed that the making of the field notes would have been off putting to the interviewees as was the case with one of the interviewers in Roulston *et al.*'s (2003) study. In this study the interviewer felt that it was because they had not informed the interviewee about the use of note taking during interviews. However, I feel that it would still be distracting to the interviewees because it would lead to a break in eye contact which would make it difficult to generate data (Sanger, 1996).

During the conversational interviews, I was careful to focus on the 'doing' of ethnicity (Fishman, 1996) so I focused on the practices in which the young people engaged and avoided the word 'feel' as it is linked with the 'being' of ethnicity⁷⁴ (ibid). One particular British-Based Japanese-Japanese (BBJ-J) young person who was known to me spoke openly about his Japanese ethnicities which surprised me because when I had met him previously in my role as a parent he had been very shy. I felt that some of the young people were reluctant to talk about everyday activities and the mundane so it was sometimes difficult to generate a conversation. This could have been because there was a lack of 'cooperativity' 'a shared desire to talk to one another' (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 44). This was not always the case as Carl (aged 18) talked openly and at length with me for nearly one hour. Alternatively, it could have been because some of the young people (5) were not known to me, which meant that I was a stranger to them. This was not always the case as Eleanor (aged 12) had never met me before and she was keen to talk to me. I feel it was partly because some of the young people were at times puzzled about why I wanted to know about the everyday taken-for-granted practices in which they engaged as many of them (9) were known to me through long term friendships with the parents or other networks.

⁷⁴ This would seem to be in contrast to Francis *et al.* (2010a, p. 88) who report on how the Chinese pupils 'feel' about the complementary school and whether attendance at the complementary school made them 'feel' more (or less) Chinese.

In addition, I felt that although they seemed to value their mixed ethnicities, their mixedness did not seem to be 'central to their day to day lives' (Aspinall, 2008, p. 25).

When talking to some of the adults I had very little to fall back on so at times it was difficult to generate a conversation. So I tended to ask more questions but I tried to encourage them to speak as freely as possible. With the Japanese mothers it was generally easy to generate a conversation. This could be because I had met them in the library at *Hoshūkō* so we had developed a 'rapport' (Roulston *et al.*, 2003; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). However, even with some of the teachers I had not met before I felt a real sense of 'cooperativity' because they also asked me questions about my family, which suggested they had a 'shared desire to talk' to me (Blommaert and Dong, 2010). With some of the mothers and teachers there was a problem with language as they were less than fluent in English. When trying to transcribe the interviews it was difficult to understand what they were trying to say so there were sections of the interviews which I could not use. Many of the interviewees mixed English and Japanese speech which made it easier for me to understand as this was how I communicated at home with my family. When they tried to speak in purely English speech it made it more difficult to understand.

Although I never used the word 'interview'⁷⁵ with the mothers, two of them seemed to be anxious about talking to me. At the beginning of Yuri's interview I was surprised when she said 'are you interviewing me in English I hope my English is good enough for you' (field notes, 11.06.2010).

I felt this question was very odd as I had spoken to her many times previously over many years both at *Daikon Bunkō* and at *Hoshūkō*. In addition, when I bumped into Sawako at *Hoshūkō* prior to her interview she commented that:

she does not know much about *Hoshūkō* and that she can introduce me to another Japanese women living in Cambridge who has more experience than her. I try to explain that it doesn't matter and I want to talk to her (field notes, 06.06.2012).

Again I felt this was rather odd as I had met her in the library and had spoken to her on several occasions⁷⁶. These reactions could have been because in my guise as an interviewer, they no longer viewed me as a parent but I was 'imagined as a figure of *authority*' (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 50). In addition, I was attached to King's College which is a 'prestigious institution we call university surrounded by assumptions of intellectual brilliance and sophistication' (*ibid*, p. 50).

⁷⁵ I just said that I wanted to talk to them about their family and their experience of *Hoshūkō*.

⁷⁶ In addition, I had realised that she worked for the same examining board as I did and she had e-mailed me on several occasions in this role before we had met at *Hoshūkō*.

However, during the course of the interview I felt that this was soon forgotten and they talked extensively about their lives (see appendix C).

The audio recording of the conversations was not without its problems. In the first interview I conducted my voice recorder would not work as is evidenced from my field notes:

I switch my voice recorder on and it flashes read only. I cannot record. I cannot believe it. My first interview and my voice recorder is not working. I take it to Timothy⁷⁷ to see if he can mend it but he can't. I'm totally shocked. Timothy laughs. Eleanor's brother is trying to put a deckchair near where Eleanor is sitting she is telling him to go away. Then Timothy realises that I can use his Blackberry to record. He checks it to see if it works and it does. I'm so relieved. I start the interview and after about 5 minutes I notice that the red record indicator is flashing I think it's because it is running out of batteries. It's hard for me to relax. I ask the same question twice because it's hard for me to concentrate. The mother is talking to Timothy in Japanese and her voice is quite loud so I'm worried that I won't be able to hear Eleanor's voice. The dad is talking to Timothy in English. I'm trying to memorise what she's saying but it is too difficult. It's hard for me to concentrate. There is a gentle breeze and I have to hold on to the papers to stop them blowing away. I do not feel very relaxed. I forgot to ask her about *juku* which she attended for one term and about the photo-essay she had sent me. The interview lasts for 30 minutes. But on the whole I think I covered everything. Luckily, when we get home I find that the recorder was working and I have managed to record the conversation with Eleanor. It was a good job I took Timothy with me. I found out that my voice recorder had locked itself. Apparently this happens from time to time. There is no mention of this in the instructions but I found out how to unlock it on the internet. This has never happened before [and it has never happened since] (field notes, 09.04.2011).

This was similar to the experience of Dong (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 35). In her research on rural migrants in Beijing, which was based in a school, a teacher became very open which was unusual. However, the battery in her voice recorder had run out because it had been switched on by mistake in her pocket. She made field notes directly afterwards but they were not as good as a recorded interview.

There was also a lot of background noise with some of the interviews which made transcribing difficult. For example, at the beginning of the interview in the university café/bar I found a quiet place to sit. However, after about thirty minutes into the conversation a large group of people entered and put some money into the pool table which created a lot of noise. Similar scenarios happened in other public places when conducting interviews: everything is quiet, the interview begins and all of a sudden people are everywhere talking loudly. In the interview with Eleanor (field notes, 09.04.2011) as it was a nice sunny day the interview was conducted in the garden. There was a slight breeze so the questionnaire, photographs and photo-essay kept blowing everywhere so it was difficult for me to look at these during the interview. Eleanor was also distracted as she had hay fever and her younger brother was trying to annoy her by trying to sit near us in his deckchair.

All in all, I succeeded in conducting 25 conversational interviews totalling approximately 30 hours of audio recorded data. In spite of the problems I encountered with the interviews, I felt that they

⁷⁷ Eleanor's' mother had suggested bringing my family with me to meet her family; only Timothy (my older son) was available.

allowed me to get closer to the representations of the lives of the informants. They enabled me to avoid

a tendency to treat those on whom it [race and ethnicity research] was commenting as objects of textual analysis rather than as agentic speaking subjects (Harris, 2006, p. 17).

Due to the use of an ethnographic perspective within a qualitative framework I felt that I had to 'live with uncertainty, ambiguity, and confusion' while conducting my fieldwork as I was trying to work out what to do next (Lareau, 1996, p. 198). I feel that my ethnographic perspective and my multiple ethnographic tools enabled me to gain a more nuanced insight into the construction of the ethnicities of the A-Js and the other ethnic positionings at *Hoshūkō* than I had previously thought possible.

After having collected my data, the next problem I encountered was how to turn the large amount of data that I had amassed into a coherent and cohesive written text. In order to do this I like Harris (2006, p. 88) decided 'to saturate the reader with a cumulative evocation of new ethnicities located in time, place and with respect to age, mediated through representations' of Japanese language use and cultural practices (see chapters 5 to 7). To justify my approach, I draw upon Geertz (1973), who believes that ethnography is based on 'microscopic' (*ibid.*, p. 21) 'thick description' (*ibid.*, p. 10) and Highmore (2002a; 2002b) who problematises the everyday.

2.5 Thick description and the everyday

Geertz (1973) stresses the problematic nature of thick description for the ethnographer. He believes that it presents the ethnographer with a complex set of problems when trying to faithfully represent a cultural formation as he states:

What the ethnographer is in fact faced with [...] is a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them are superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit, and which he [*sic.*] [the ethnographer] must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render (Geertz, 1973, p. 10).

Geertz also highlights the intricacies associated with constructing a reading of what happens in a particular cultural context. As many of the cultural practices both inside and outside *Hoshūkō* are dependent upon Japanese language proficiency it is impossible to neatly divide language and cultural practices into two separable entities. Geertz highlights that what people say is equally important as what people do when he says:

If anthropological interpretation is constructing a reading of what happens, then to divorce it from what happens—from what, in this time or that place, specific people say, what they do, what is done to them, from the whole vast business of the world—is to divorce it from its applications and render it vacant (Geertz, 1973, p. 18).

In addition, Geertz (1973, p. 16) believes that in the 'thick description':

Behaviour must be attended to, and with some exactness, because it is through the flow of behaviour —or more, precisely, social action—that cultural forms find articulation. They find it as well, of course, in various sorts of artifacts [*sic.*] [...] but these draw their meaning from the role they play [...] in an ongoing pattern of life [...] (Geertz, 1973, p. 16).

Language, cultural and bodily practices formed part of this behaviour both inside and outside *Hoshūkō* (see chapters 5, 6 and 7). In this thesis it was the hidden significance underpinning the artefacts and practices which I was painstakingly trying to tease out to provide the reader with a finely tuned analysis of how Japanese ethnicities of an official kind pervade the everyday lives of the A-Js.

Although I have deliberately chosen to offer a thick description to give a feel of how the Anglo-Japanese formation is partly constituted by its participation with certain renderings of Japaneseness, I feel that the use of 'thick description' alone is not enough to represent the everyday in the lives of the A-Js. So I also felt the need to saturate the reader with an abundance of images of the objects and practices in which the A-Js engage/are engaged as they go about their everyday lives. In order to capture specific Japanese cultural artefacts and practices, I felt that 'no form of discourse is ever going to be 'proper (appropriate)' to the everyday life of the A-Js (Highmore, 2002a, p. 21). This was because 'certain forms of discourse [...] are not adequate to their objects and at times fail to accommodate them at all' which is especially true in a cross-cultural context (Highmore, 2002a, p. 21). I argue that words alone may not suffice to capture the Japanese artefacts and practices with which the A-Js engage in their everyday lives so different forms of representations are needed (*ibid.*). I, therefore, where possible drew upon photographs taken by the participants and my family and friends, images from the internet and YouTube clips. I believe that the idea of the image is crucial for a cross-cultural understanding of the everyday in the lives of the A-Js as what is familiar for the A-Js may be strange for the reader.

The everyday lives of the A-Js are extremely complex as they are characterised by 'ambiguities, instabilities and equivocation' (Highmore, 2002a, p. 17). This meant that I was trying to grapple with 'the unmanageability of the everyday' in a self-reflexive manner in order to 'fashion out forms more adequate to the task of attending to the everyday than those that might see it as all too easily knowable' (Highmore, 2002a, p. 18).

The everyday of the A-Js may offer 'itself up as a problem, a contradiction, a paradox: both ordinary and extraordinary, self-evident and opaque, known and unknown, obvious and enigmatic' (Highmore, 2002a, p. 16). It was therefore necessary to make the familiar strange (Highmore,

2002b) or the strange familiar depending on the cultural background of the reader. As Highmore (2011, p. 6) stresses, '[o]ne person's ordinary is another person's extraordinary'. What is more, 'claiming everyday life as self-evident and readily accessible becomes an operation for asserting the dominance of specific cultures and for particular understandings of such cultures' (Highmore, 2002b, p. 1). I like Highmore (2002a, p. 178) believe that the future of cultural studies in terms of the everyday is to 're-imagine' cultural studies through the problematic spirit of a cross-cultural attention to the everyday which I am doing through my representation of the everyday lives of the Anglo-Japanese.

2.6 Conclusion

Although my research did not always go to plan, my use of multiple ethnographic tools enabled me to generate rich and reflexive data. With the benefit of hindsight, I feel that the problems I encountered were part of 'the complexity' that an ethnographic perspective uncovers (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 25). What is more, such a perspective enabled me to shed some light on how the young people represented and performed new ethnicities through language and cultural practices⁷⁸ as ethnography is, 'potentially the strongest social science metaphor within which members of some group can display the complexity and variability of their lives' (Agar, 1996, p. 252). My methodological approach has helped me deepen the new ethnicities paradigm by focusing on the language and cultural practices of the Anglo-Japanese with an ethnographic perspective as such a perspective 'is a way of methodologically exemplifying the conceptual complexity' of this paradigm (Hall 2006, in Harris and Rampton, 2009, p. 117, Notes 3).

I am not claiming that the data I collected revealed 'the truth' but I do claim they enrich the understanding of what the concept of Japaneseness might embrace. As Pink (2007) points out:

[E]thnography is a process of creating and representing knowledge (about society, culture and individuals) that is based on ethnographers' own experiences. It does not claim to produce an objective truthful account of reality, but should aim to offer versions of ethnographers' experiences of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context, negotiations and intersubjectivities through which the knowledge was produced (Pink, 2007, p. 22).

In order to offer 'versions of my own experiences as loyal as possible to the context', I drew upon reflexive, collaborative and participatory research methods by including observable and recordable events which were translated into written notes and texts as well as including 'the sensory nature of knowledge' in terms of visual images (Pink, 2007, p. 22).

⁷⁸ I also developed an understanding of the practices of some of the teachers and parents at *Hoshūkō*.

In the next chapter I will give an auto-ethnographic account of the upbringing of my two Anglo-Japanese sons to shed some light on the 25 years of experience I have had with the Japanese objects, images and practices with which my sons engaged. This a reflexive account of my 'own personal interpretive lens' (Nayak, 2006, p. 413) underpinning my research and it serves as an empirical and theoretical introduction to the concept of Anglo-Japanese young people.

Chapter 3 An emerging Anglo-Japanese ethnic formation

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will argue that Anglo-Japanese (A-J) is an emerging ethnic formation in London and South East England, and its emergence has coincided with the childhoods of my two sons. As no officially published data relating to the existence of the A-Js is collated in Britain or Japan, there is no statistical evidence to substantiate this claim (see Chapter 1). However, my confidence in proposing the existence of such an ethnic formation arises from my personal involvement in raising over a 25-year period (from 1989 to 2015) two children in London who fit this characterisation. I will use an auto-ethnographic (Atkinson *et al.*, 2003; Anderson, 2006; Chang, 2008) narrative account of the upbringing of my two Anglo-Japanese sons, Timothy and Richard⁷⁹ to demonstrate what the category of Anglo-Japanese might encompass in twenty-first century super diverse Britain⁸⁰ (Vertovec, 2007). In my account I give examples which mainly focus on traditional Japaneseness because this was salient in the lives of my two sons when growing up in London. However, what I have mentioned in this thesis only scratches the surface of the extensive network of authentic traditional and contemporary Japanese practices and artefacts with which they have been engaging since birth. I also demonstrate the extent to which their ethnicities have been racialised, by themselves and by the adults in their lives, mainly in a London context. In order to do this, I rely on memory and actual field notes I made of conversations that occurred within my family at the time which formed part of my research for my 2005 MA dissertation and that of the initial stages of this thesis.

In the second half of this chapter I attempt to deconstruct the notion of the Japanese at the London *Hoshūkō* by highlighting the complexities of the Japanese ethnicities of those in attendance. I have established three main nuanced formations of Japanese ethnicities: Japanese of Mixed Ethnicities (JM-Es) of which the A-Js form part; Japanese-Japanese (J-J) and Non-Japanese. These nuanced formations illustrate that the notion of racial purity that is promulgated by *Nihonjinron* advocates sits uneasily in a contemporary London setting where a significant, and rising number of people of mixed ethnicities reside (Song and Aspinall, 2012, p. 736).

⁷⁹ Although the majority of the names I use are pseudonyms, I try to capture a sense of the original meaning of the names concerned.

⁸⁰ According to the 2001 Census, there are people from 179 countries in Greater London (see Vertovec, 2007).

3.2 Raising two Anglo-Japanese sons

Although I tried to bring up my two sons, Timothy and Richard, with some knowledge of Japanese language and cultural practises in London, the outcomes were different in each case. This was partly due to a developing change in the ethnic mix in London, and the agency that my sons have over their ethnic affiliations.

3.2.1 Timothy's upbringing

My first son (Timothy) was born in Tokyo in 1989. In recognition of his mixedness I decided to give him an English first name, Timothy (Tim), (as we were intending to live in England) which could be converted into a Japanese name, *Chimori*, a Japanese middle name, *Heisei*⁸¹, and family name, *Matsoka*. In England he was Tim *Matsoka* and in Japan he was *Matsoka Chimori*⁸².

Due to Timothy's mixedness I soon became aware that we were situated within a markedly racialised environment in both Tokyo and London. I became acutely aware (as did Kamada, 2010) that my son was Anglo-Japanese, as opposed to being White British like me or 'pure' Japanese like his father. His birth was registered in both Japan and England so that he could acquire dual nationality. However, I realised that he would be required to choose either Japanese or British nationality before the age of 22 as dual nationality is not permitted by the Japanese government (Ministry of Justice, 1998 – 2006). This legislation counters the trope of mixedness in Britain as in Japan it is a legal requirement to relinquish one part of the ancestry of a person of mixed ethnicities.

When in Tokyo, I noticed that, on the one hand, Timothy was positively received whilst, on the other hand, what I considered to be racialised vocabulary was used when referring to him. Often when we went outside teenage girls would gather around him, take a sharp intake of breath and squeal '*kawai*' (cute)⁸³ in loud high-pitched, highly-feminised voices. He was recognised as being racially different albeit in a positive sense. However, in vernacular speech he was referred to as *hāfu* which I considered to be a derogatory term due to its similarity to the English words 'half-breed' or 'half-caste'.

⁸¹ Heisei is not actually a given name in Japan. It refers to the current era of Japan which started on 1 January, 1989, the year in which my son was born.

⁸² It is customary to put family names first in Japan.

⁸³ This happened with both sons every time we visited Tokyo when they were babies. They seemed to be considered as something particularly 'cute' in Japan due to their atypical racialised features. This is in line with McVeigh's (2000, p. 135) notion of the "Cult of Cuteness" (in this case 'baby cuteness') whereby mainly women are attracted to cute things in Japan.

I was aware of the need to conform to racial, linguistic and cultural norms in Japan in the late 1980s. The Japanese proverb: 'The nail that sticks up gets hammered down' (*Deru kui wa utareru*) (Kamada, 2010, p. 5) supports the notion of such conformity. This proverb suggests that difference is not tolerated and those who do differ are considered to be 'nails that stick up' so they must be 'hammered down' (Kamada, 2010)⁸⁴. This difference relates to non-conformity to social norms and physical difference because such difference is not tolerated within mainstream society (Kamada, 2010). This suggests that due to my son's atypical racialised appearance in Japan, he was perceived as being different in a racial sense. Therefore, it was my intention to raise him with some awareness of Japanese language and culture so that he could fit into Japanese society both linguistically and culturally.

I also wondered whether he would ever be referred to as '*gaijin*' (foreigner) as had often been the case with me or whether he would act like a '*gaijin*' as I had done when first arriving in Japan. I was unaware of Japanese language and cultural practices which led to many cultural faux pas⁸⁵. Much of the food was unrecognisable to me and I found it unpalatable (see chapter 7). I could not speak the language and I felt extremely awkward and out of place. People would openly stare at me (see chapters 4 and 7). On occasions when living in Chiba⁸⁶ young children would stop, stare, point and say to their mothers '*gaijin da*' (there's a foreigner). It was whilst living in Japan that I realised I was a 'White' foreigner, just as Stuart Hall had first realised he was a Black West Indian when coming to Britain (Chen, 1996).

Although I had grown up in mainly 'White' Britain⁸⁷, I knew what it was like to be different there. The racialisation of certain ethnic groups by the media meant that such groups were called names, teased or even bullied. I vividly remember visiting my grandmother in Dewsbury, West Yorkshire (my mother's home town) and my mother and grandmother talking about all the 'Pakis'⁸⁸ living in the area and taking over the schools (see Hall, 1996, p. 449, Notes 1). I, therefore, wanted Timothy to grow up with an understanding of his difference within mainstream

⁸⁴ According to Aspinall (2014, p. 244) this proverb is still salient in twenty-first century Japanese education. This is a reconfirmation that difference is still not tolerated and physical violence, including bullying by peers and corporal punishment by teachers, may be directed at those who are different (*ibid.*).

⁸⁵ When going to the toilet it is customary to wear plastic toilet slippers and leave them in the toilet area after use (see section 7.3.2). However, I found myself sitting in the living room with my legs under the *kotatsu* (traditional Japanese low table with a blanket under the table top and an electric heater attached to the base) (see Figure 1) still wearing the toilet slippers. I should not have been wearing any slippers let alone toilet slippers. This is a typical faux pas made by a '*gaijin*' in Japan (see chapter 7).

⁸⁶ Chiba Prefecture is situated in the Kanto region and the Greater Tokyo Area. We lived in Katsutadai for approximately 18 months.

⁸⁷ I had not really been aware of non-white people when I was growing up. This could be because I had lived in number of relatively small towns and a village as a child.

⁸⁸ 'Pakis' is a derogatory abbreviated form to mean 'Pakistanis'. In Hall's (1996, p. 450, Notes 1) seminal article the term 'Asian pupils' is used.

Britain. The ethnic formation Anglo-Japanese was largely invisible at that time so I wanted to raise him with some knowledge of his Japanese ancestry. In order to achieve this aim I tried to integrate into the local London-based Japanese community.

3.2.1.1 Integrating into the London-based Japanese community

Integrating into the Japanese community in London was fairly easy due to the area in which we resided. Unbeknown to us at the time, we moved to an area of London where there were many racially 'pure' Japanese families with babies and toddlers living in London on a temporary basis. I met many mothers and their offspring at local toddler groups. I was pleasantly surprised because this meant that I could integrate into the Japanese community in order to give my son, Timothy, a sense of Japaneseness even though my knowledge of Japanese was limited. In addition, I was happy that Timothy could mix with racially 'pure' Japanese children because at that time I felt that the quality of their Japanese language proficiency would be greater than his as they had two Japanese parents. I started attending Japanese evening classes so that I could also learn Japanese at the same time as my son in order to be a Japanese speaking mother. I paid little attention to Timothy learning English as I thought he would be able to acquire it naturally as we were living in England.

I felt that we were welcomed into the Japanese community which was partly due to our difference, me being a White British woman and Timothy being big and strong⁸⁹ (the envy of many Japanese mothers). Timothy and I spent a lot of time at my Japanese friends' houses because similar to their partners, my partner was working for a Japanese company and he worked long hours.

Timothy and I joined *Momo*⁹⁰ *Bunkō* (Peach Library Group) with my friends so that he could further develop his Japanese language and cultural practices. We could borrow Japanese books and engage in Japanese cultural practices through the Japanese medium. We were welcomed into the group and I was the only non-Japanese mother in attendance. All the other children seemed to be 'pure' Japanese (see chapter 4). It was at this time that I realised that Timothy's Japanese proficiency far outshone mine and I started to become demotivated about learning Japanese. However, my knowledge of Japanese did enable me to mix Japanese and English linguistic features when communicating within the home environment (Lewis, 2005) and when

⁸⁹ I remember one English mother who was at my Japanese friend's house who expressed surprise that my son was Anglo-Japanese because he was 'too big to be Japanese'. Thus, he did not fit in with the stereotypical image of a Japanese toddler.

⁹⁰ In order to anonymise my data I've changed the actual name to *Momo* (peach), which gives a semantic sense of the original.

socialising with Japanese friends. I, as did my family and friends, would constantly insert Japanese words into English sentences which facilitated communication (ibid).

Timothy was also able to communicate in mainly Japanese at his mainstream nursery school because many of his friends were Japanese. My Japanese friends and I had a 'babysitting circle' which meant that we looked after each other's children. This meant that Timothy was frequently looked after by Japanese mothers. My son also repeatedly engaged with Japanese *anime* (cartoons) (see chapter 7) both on his own at home and at the homes of his Japanese friends. He watched eight-hour long Japanese videos sent from Japan by his grandmother. These *anime* exposed my son to Japanese language and cultural practices as well as behavioural norms. One such programme is called *Sazae-san* (Ms Sazae), which depicts traditional Japanese family life.

Figure 1 – *Sazae-san anime*



Source: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=plhny5-rj8> [Accessed 20.03.2008]

Sazae-san is the oldest running *anime* (cartoon) series on Japanese television and it first started in 1969 (Craig, 2000). In 1995 it was still extremely popular and it remained in the top rank in the television ratings in the greater Tokyo region for five consecutive weeks from January 23 to February 26 (ibid). *Sazae-san depicts* a conservative image of family life as she lives 'harmoniously together under one roof' with her extended family of three generations (Craig, 2000, p. 189). Figure 1 shows the extended family kneeling around a *kotatsu* (traditional Japanese low table with a blanket and an electric heater attached to the base⁹¹) eating traditional Japanese food from small bowls with chopsticks (see section 7.3.5). Sazae's father is wearing traditional Japanese clothes.

Through Timothy's repeated engagement with *Sazae-san*, he was being inculcated with 'what it means to be Japanese' (Craig, 2000, p. 193). This notion of Japaneseness is represented through an 'antiquated family structure' (Craig, 2000, p. 194) which is not defined by 'contemporary social reality but by the construction of an ideal reality that harkens back to an

⁹¹ A *kotatsu* is necessary in Japan because there is no central heating so it feels a lot colder than it actually is.

earlier era' (Craig, 2000, p. 192). Timothy was also being inculcated with cultural practices which are 'firmly rooted in tradition' because:

[i]mplicit in this is the ideological message that it is these vanishing structures and traditions that define the essence of Japan and the Japanese (Craig, 200, p. 194).

Through the regular viewing of the programme *Sazae-san*, Timothy was being inadvertently subjected to an essentialist version of Japaneseness in line with widely circulating ideologies (see section 7.4.3).

In addition to videos, Timothy's Japanese grandmother and great grandmother sent him many Japanese cultural artefacts from Japan including: Japanese clothes, toys, books, and electronic games. He was able to wear similar clothes to his Japanese friends and he played with similar toys. During this time he had a strong sense of Japaneseness which was further strengthened through his attendance at *Hoshūkō* (Japanese Saturday School).

3.2.1.2 Attending *Hoshūkō*

In 1996 at the age of six Timothy started attending *Hoshūkō* with his Japanese friends. Before attending it was necessary to enrol him. Enrolment was a purely Japanese affair making it inaccessible to non-Japanese speakers. In order to enrol Timothy at *Hoshūkō*, it was necessary to attend a meeting in west London to obtain the necessary forms. I went with my Japanese friends to collect the forms which my partner later completed in Japanese.

With my son enrolled at *Hoshūkō*, Timothy was very excited about starting. He was already familiar with the language, cultural practices and artefacts associated with Japanese school life through watching authentic Japanese *anime* (cartoons). One such artefact is a black leather *randoseru* (rucksack) for boys (see figure 2), which his grandmother sent from Japan. Timothy was extremely proud of his *randoseru* and he wore it with pride.

Figure 2 – A black *randoseru*



Source: <http://www.amazon.com/Randoseru-black-girls-school-japanese/dp/B005LFY8ZM>

[Accessed 13.05.2015]

When Timothy joined *Hoshūkō* the majority of those in attendance seemed to be racially ‘pure’ Japanese. In his class there were only two other young people of mixed Japanese ethnicities⁹²; a girl with a French mother and a Japanese father and a boy with an Italian mother and a Japanese father. Out of twenty-one students, only three (14%) were Japanese of Mixed-Ethnicities. All the other children in his class seemed to be ‘pure’ Japanese, the majority of whom were the offspring of company workers.

My son, Timothy, enjoyed communicating with his Japanese friends in Japanese and participating in traditional Japanese cultural practices at *Hoshūkō*. However, after about three years, he found the literacy side of *Hoshūkō* difficult and he often could not complete all his homework so he really wanted to leave. As his aural and oral skills were proficient, he could compensate for his weak literacy skills in class. In the end, his father and I managed to persuade him to keep attending and he stayed until the age of 18. At this time his class was more racially mixed: 25% were Japanese of Mixed- Ethnicities⁹³ which is in contrast to the 14% when he had started in 1996.

3.2.1.3 The highs and lows of Anglo-Japaneseness

So successful had I been in integrating Timothy into the Japanese community that his English seemed to be quite deficient when he started school. His nursery teacher once asked me if he could speak English because at times he did not seem to respond when spoken to in English. In his nursery school report the first languages at home were written: Japanese, English (Japanese preceded English) (Nursery Report, 1993 in Lewis, 2005). All his friends seemed to be Japanese and he enjoyed playing with them. In his nursery report it was also written, ‘Timothy uses both Japanese and English in the nursery and is able to act as translator for staff and peers’ (Nursery Report, 1993 in Lewis, 2005). Timothy was pleased that he could bridge the linguistic gap

⁹² There was also an Eastern European girl attending *Hoshūkō* who had lived in Japan for some time so her parents were keen for her to attend *Hoshūkō* (see figure 2, fourth girl from the right sitting on the bench). She was a fluent Japanese speaker and she also attended my son’s mainstream primary school.

⁹³ This is in contrast to Francis *et al.*’s (2010, p. 87) experience where out of 60 respondents only 1 pupil was of mixed ethnicities.

between Japanese and English young people, which placed him in a position of authority at his mainstream school (Lewis, 2005).

At his mainstream infant school there was a Japanese support teacher to help the Japanese children and their families integrate into English mainstream schooling⁹⁴. This support teacher often used to call for Japanese children to come out of class for special sessions with her. Timothy always joined in, which meant that he could receive part of his mainstream schooling in Japanese. Assemblies were held to teach Japanese cultural practices to the rest of the school. My son was asked to wear a kimono to assembly on several occasions (see figure 3). The school also held international evenings when he wore his *yukata* (a light cotton *kimono* worn in the summer) (see figure 6).

Figure 3 – Timothy at his mainstream infant school



Photograph taken 01.12.1995

Timothy could develop his Japanese language and cultural proficiency whilst attending mainstream nursery and primary school. Timothy's situation was similar to one of the sojourners in Fry's (2009, p. 379) study who remarked that while attending mainstream school in Golders Green (London) between 1987 and 1991 'the children spoke Japanese during playtime at school, and played with Japanese friends almost exclusively after school'. Timothy (third from the right in figure 4) and his friends formed a tight-knit group of Japanese speakers. Moreover, he felt very proud of his associations with Japaneseness at his mainstream school. This is in contrast to Harris' (2006, p. 102) study of young people of South Asian descent where the attendance at infant school resulted in a 'decisive shift to English language dominance' from languages such as Panjabi or Gujarati.

However, it was at primary school that my son realised that he differed from his Japanese friends in several ways. All his Japanese friends gradually returned to Japan while he was left in

⁹⁴ In May 1993 (Timothy started in January, 1994) it was estimated that there were 27 Japanese children, approximately 11%, attending my son's infant school (Yamada-Yamamoto, 1998).

England. Although he was able to visit some of his friends in Japan when we went there on holiday, he really wanted to live in Japan to be with them. There were also times when he realised he was racially different (see figure 4). Thus, from a relatively early age he wanted to dye his reddish brown hair black as he associated hair colour with Japanese-ness⁹⁵. When he was in his late teens he went to Japan and he had his hair dyed black and he had his naturally curly hair straightened. Unfortunately, this did not have the desired effect as he seemed to resemble Michael Jackson more than a Japanese national so he never did this again.

Figure 4 - Timothy with his 'pure' Japanese friends



Photograph taken 25.03.1994

Although Timothy was a fluent Japanese speaker, his proficiency in English seemed to suffer. All through primary school he received English literacy support. His reading ability was lower than his age in Year 4 so he had extra help with reading. His teacher at mainstream school used to shout at him because his handwriting was not neat enough⁹⁶ and she once remarked to me at parents evening that she herself had enough problems learning one language let alone two⁹⁷. His verbal reasoning skills were considered to be weaker than his non-verbal skills. Remedial literacy support was recommended to bridge the gap between his literacy and numeracy proficiencies. I started to doubt whether focusing on Japanese in the home was the right thing to do.

From the age of 6 Timothy was also attending *Hoshūkō*⁹⁸ for which he received what I considered to be excessive literacy homework as he had to learn the three Japanese scripts: *hiragana*,

⁹⁵ In Japanese schools hair colour and texture are considered to be important to the notion of Japanese. McVeigh (2000) points out that rumours exist about school authorities forcing students who do not have naturally straight, jet-black hair to straighten (Arudou, 2007) and dye their hair black so that they look racially Japanese. If they do not dye their hair black, they have to bring a note from their parents to certify the natural colour of the hair (McVeigh, 2000). It has also been reported that teachers inspect pupils' hair to determine whether the non-black colour is natural (McVeigh, 2000, p. 71; Arudou, 2007).

⁹⁶ I put this down to the fact that he was hyper-active as a toddler so his fine motor skills were underdeveloped.

⁹⁷ The assumption was that I was putting an unnecessary strain on my son by trying to make him bilingual. I just ignored her comments as I thought that it was important for my son to learn Japanese.

⁹⁸ After which he attended *kendo* (Japanese martial art) with some of his Japanese friends.

katakana (two phonetic scripts) and *kanji* (logographic script originating from Chinese) (see section 5.3.1). He used to do his homework with his father on a Friday evening. He was still watching Japanese *anime* both before and after mainstream school and we also visited Japan on a two-yearly basis. Luckily, by the end of primary school as a result of the remedial language support he had received, his English language and mathematical skills were more or less parallel with each other.

Timothy was brought up to affiliate with Japaneseness in a cultural and linguistic sense. He learned Japanese language and cultural practices by watching Japanese *anime*, speaking in Japanese to his racially 'pure' Japanese friends, his father and his relatives in Japan, and by attending *Momo Bunkō* (Peach Library Group) as well as *Hoshūkō*. Timothy had strong affiliations with Japanese cultural markers which resulted in the need for English literacy support in junior school. I feel that Timothy is one example of what the formation Anglo-Japanese might mean for someone who has been brought up in London whereas Richard, my second son, provides a different example of what the proposed category Anglo-Japanese might also mean.

3.2.2 Richard's upbringing

Richard was born in London in 1997 eight years after his brother, Timothy. Like his brother, he had a traditional English first name, Richard which could be shortened to make a Japanese name, *Riki*,⁹⁹ an English middle name, Lewis (my surname), and a Japanese surname, *Matsoka*. This was because I tried to replicate what I had done first time around with Timothy. Similar to Timothy, Richard watched many Japanese *anime* on videos and DVDs but this time around we rented them from a rental shop¹⁰⁰ near to where we lived. We ate authentic Japanese food from time to time and Richard acquired a taste for sushi. We also visited Japan every other year as we had done with Timothy. Again, I made friends with Japanese mothers in toddler groups and I tried to speak Japanese with them. A Japanese woman, who also had a young son, looked after Richard while I worked.

However, I noticed that in the eight years that had passed the ethnic mix in London had changed making it difficult to replicate Timothy's upbringing with Richard.

⁹⁹ Riki is both a Japanese and an English name. Timothy and Richard used their Japanese names at *Hoshūkō* which they could write using *kanji* (Chinese characters) rather than *katakana* (phonetic script used for foreign words) as I have to do when writing my name in Japanese.

¹⁰⁰ This shop soon closed down as the number of Japanese living in the area had decreased so we had to travel to Appleton to obtain Japanese DVDs as the numbers of Japanese living in this area had significantly increased. 807 more Japan-born people were recorded living in Appleton in 2001 than in 1991 representing the biggest change in a local area (+82.10%) (BBC News, n.d.).

3.2.2.1 A changing demographic mix

After Richard was born I tried to acquaint him with Japanese language and cultural practices. I soon noticed, however, that the ethnic mix had changed: there were fewer 'pure' Japanese families residing in our area which could have been due to the recession in Japan which started in the 1990s¹⁰¹ (Sugimoto, 2009) and there were more Anglo-Japanese children with a Japanese mother and a White British father.

As the ethnic mix had changed, there were two pre-school groups aimed at Anglo-Japanese toddlers, which I joined with Richard. The first was called *Mitsubachi no kai* (honeybee club). It was a toddler group for Japanese mothers and their offspring, mainly Anglo-Japanese, to learn Japanese cultural practices through the Japanese medium. This group was established by a Japanese woman who had a White British partner and an Anglo-Japanese son, who was a similar age to my son, Richard. Here I met many Japanese families of mixed-ethnicities. My son was happy to attend this group and speak Japanese. He also enjoyed the many cultural activities.

The second group was called *Daikon Bunkō* (Radish Library Group). We joined this group with the friends we had met at *Mitsubachi no Kai* (see section 4.4 for further information about *Daikon Bunkō* and *Momo Bunkō*). This is where I met Yuri (Japanese mother) and her two Anglo-Japanese children Albert and Andrea¹⁰² as well as Kinjio,¹⁰³ Yukiko¹⁰⁴ and her mother. Again, my son and I were considered a novelty as I was the only White British mother to attend this group as most families involved Japanese mothers and White British fathers. Attending these two groups meant that Richard could become familiar with not only Japanese language practices but also cultural practices in the company of other Anglo-Japanese children. Attendance at these two groups meant that Richard was growing up in a more mixed environment than the racially 'pure' Japanese environment in which my elder son, Timothy had grown up.

Richard also had a more mixed group of friends (than Timothy had had) as did I. I made friends with other mothers regardless of their ethnic group¹⁰⁵. Richard had many friends of mixed-ethnicities at junior school which seemed to go beyond the black/white mixed category. This may

¹⁰¹ The number of people born in Japan living in Figsbury had dropped from 1,420 in 1991 to 981 in 2001 (-30.92%) (BBC News). In addition, White (2003) pointed out that the Japanese community in Britain was changing as it was losing its ties with Japanese companies. The majority of Japanese nationals in London were female and the proportion of Japanese permanent residents was increasing (White, 2003).

¹⁰² I later met Yuri and her children at *Hoshūkō* when I was doing my fieldwork and I interviewed them.

¹⁰³ I also met Kinjio at Richard's primary school and Football Club Japan (FCJ) and I interviewed him for my research.

¹⁰⁴ I also interviewed Yukiko.

¹⁰⁵ The other mothers who I was friendly with originated from Sierra Leone, India, Spain, Russia, Japan, Ireland, Iraq and England. My friend from Sierra Leone had a White Scottish partner. My friend from Russia had a white British partner, and my friend from Ireland had a partner from Mauritius so their children were of mixed ethnicities. All my other friends had partners from the same ethnic group.

be because Britain (in particular London) had 'the highest rate of interracial relationships in the world, with a rate of ten times that of the European average' (Parker and Song, 2001, p. 2) and by the 2011 Census the mixed-race population had exceeded one million (Rogers, 2012). The dominant skin colour seemed to be light brown causing the skin colour white to stand out (see figure 5). I observed Richard with a group of his friends playing together and one boy (a pale white Italian boy, see figure 5, fourth boy from the right) was told that he could not join the group because he did not have brown skin (the rest of the group included Richard, a black/white boy, third from the right, an Indian Boy, second from the left and a Japanese boy, first on the right) (see figure 5). The invisible notion of whiteness (Dyer, 1997) no longer seemed to be true in super-diverse London (Vertovec, 2007) as was evidenced from the photograph below.

Figure 5 - Richard and his friends



Richard attended Football Club Japan (FCJ)¹⁰⁶ for many years as did many of his friends at *Hoshūkō*. Although many of the coaches were seemingly Japanese they spoke a mixed variety of Japanese and English. This was because many of the terms for football are English loan words or neologisms. The coach of the top group was white British (with a Japanese wife and an Anglo-Japanese daughter) so he spoke in English. Many of the young people who attended FCJ were of Mixed Japanese Ethnicities as were some of the coaches: one was Anglo-Japanese and another was Japanese-Iranian, who grew up in Australia. One of the Japanese coaches left FCJ to return to Japan. When Richard went to Japan on holiday he could play football with the coach's team. His dream was to play football for the Japanese national team, suggesting that he wanted to use his Japaneseness to his advantage.

¹⁰⁶ FCJ was established in 1980 for Japanese children in London.

Richard received many authentic Japanese games and gadgets from his grandparents. When Richard was in infant school he did a project about Japan and in the introduction he wrote, 'I like Japan because they have good toys and they have all the new game boys before England' (Lewis, 2005). One of his British based friends once said that Richard was 'lucky coz he's Japanese he can get all the new games' (Lewis, 2005). Coincidentally, the same Japanese toys and cartoons later came to England, so at primary school his knowledge of the pervasive *Pokémon*¹⁰⁷ anime was more up-to-date than that of his Non-Japanese friends. This meant that his Non-Japanese friends were keen to share his knowledge. Although Richard enjoyed the positive connotations attached to the notion of Japaneseness, unlike his brother, he was not so keen to attend *Hoshūkō*.

3.2.2.2 Attending *Hoshūkō*

When Richard first joined *Hoshūkō* in 2004 the environment was more mixed than had been the case when Timothy started in 1996. Out of sixteen students, five (30%) were Japanese of Mixed-Ethnicities. Most of the young people of mixed-ethnicities seemed to have Japanese mothers and White British fathers apart from one whose father was black. Dan, who had an English mother and a Japanese father, also attended *Hoshūkō* but he was in a different class to Richard. When Dan left *Hoshūkō*, my son, Richard, also wanted to leave. We had to continually persuade him to attend right from the beginning. He enjoyed playing football in the break time with his friends (many of whom also attended FCJ) but he did not like the work or the classroom practices. He always used to complain about doing his homework and would question why he had to be Japanese. He would say that he was not good at Japanese literacy practices because he was a 'mixed-race kid' and he believed he was not as proficient at Japanese literacy as 'full' ('pure') Japanese individuals (Field notes, 15.05.2010). This meant that he was aligning himself with his mixedness rather than with the Japanese side of his ancestry as his brother Timothy had done.

Richard left *Hoshūkō* at the end of the first year of middle school (*chū ichi*) to play football having joined a football team which trained on a Saturday morning. He did express a wish to return to *Hoshūkō* for a short period of time as I think he missed going there at times. Even when he was no longer attending *Hoshūkō* he watched the Japanese anime *Major*¹⁰⁸ nearly every evening on You Tube. After leaving *Hoshūkō*, Richard had private Japanese lessons so that he could take

¹⁰⁷ The popular series *Pokémon* was broadcast in 68 countries and the film version has been screened in 46 countries including the UK (Mouer and Norris, 2009).

¹⁰⁸ The main character of this cartoon is a young boy who wants to become a professional baseball player. Richard could identify with the main character as he wanted to be a professional football player

GCSE¹⁰⁹ Japanese (for which he obtained an A Star at the age of 14). He subsequently took AS¹¹⁰ and A Level¹¹¹ Japanese for which he got a B at both levels. Richard still had affiliations with Japaneseness even though at times they did not seem to be as strong as his brother's.

Richard, similar to his brother Timothy, was brought up to be Japanese in a cultural and linguistic sense in London. He had as many opportunities as his brother to mix with Japanese speaking children as he had attended *Donguri no Kai* (Japanese toddler group), Daikon *Bunkō* (Radish library group), *Hoshūkō* and FCJ (Football Club Japan) but at times unlike his brother Timothy, he was not so keen to identify with the Japanese side of his ancestry. This could be because the environment was more mixed. I feel that Richard is another example of what the formation Anglo-Japanese might mean for someone who has been brought up in London.

However, I also noticed that both Richard's and Timothy's ethnic affiliations were not set in stone as they changed according to the context in which they found themselves. This meant that their ethnic affiliations were ambivalent: sometimes they were set in opposition and sometimes they were the same as each others.

3.2.3 Ambivalent ethnic affiliations

When Timothy was younger he self affiliated with Japaneseness whereas Richard self affiliated with mixedness which was contrary to their racial features. Timothy looked more European¹¹² than Oriental¹¹³ (see chapter 4). He had mid brown curly hair and he was broader than Richard. In addition, the shape of his eyes was not Oriental so he was not generally considered to be Oriental. Due to my son's ambiguous racial appearance, few people considered him to be Japanese or even half-Japanese (cf. Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). Many people tried to pigeon hole him into one racial category (cf. Song and Aspinall, 2012, p. 742) and he was believed to be Iranian, South American, Greek, or Italian. In terms of mixedness, he was once considered to be half black¹¹⁴/half Irish. His appearance made him racially ambiguous so he did not easily fit into any definite ethnic formation (see Song and Aspinall, 2012). The notion that racial features

¹⁰⁹ General Certificate of Secondary Education, usually taken at the end of year 11 (15-16).

¹¹⁰ Advanced Subsidiary Level, usually taken at the end of year 12 (16-17).

¹¹¹ Usually taken at the end of year 13 (17-18).

¹¹² By European I mean typical racialised European features such as skin colour, shape and colour of eyes, hair colour and texture, and stature. In Britain European typically refers to people in Europe, USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia who are considered to have white skin, round blue, green or hazel eyes, brown, blonde, or red, which is generally straight, wavy or curly, long pointed noses and who are tall.

¹¹³ By Oriental I mean typical racialised Oriental features such as skin colour, shape and colour of eyes, hair colour and texture and stature. In Britain Oriental typically refers to Chinese, Korean and Japanese people who are considered to have straight black hair, yellow skin, black slanted eyes, small flat noses and are short.

¹¹⁴ This could have been because at the age of 17 Timothy grew his hair and he had cornrows. His hair was very thick and curly so one of his friends coined the term 'Jafo' (Japanese/African) to describe his appearance.

equate with a distinct ethnic formation certainly did not apply to Timothy and they did not equate with his self affiliations.

Timothy's ambiguous racial features meant that he had to assert his Japaneseness to others who were looking for a racial signifier (cf. Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). Once when he was in primary school a West End Theatre Company came to hold auditions for a part in the musical 'The King and I'. They required young people with typical Oriental features. Naturally my son went along to the auditions with his Japanese friends but he was told that he was not Oriental to which he replied 'I am my dad's Japanese'. In addition, Japanese people naturally addressed Timothy in English. Despite living in super-diverse London (Vertovec, 2007), Japanese people seemed somewhat shocked that a Non-Japanese looking person was a relatively fluent Japanese speaker (cf. Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). Thus, my son was often required to assert his Japaneseness to Japanese people¹¹⁵ as is evidenced in the following incident when Timothy was 15 years old. My family and I were at a barbecue and we were speaking together in English. Kaori (a Japanese woman) is a friend of mine and she was meeting my family for the first time and she said:

Kaori: Hello (to Richard, Timothy and myself)
Hajimemashite [pleased to meet you] (to their father).

Timothy: *Boku mo nihonjin* [I'm Japanese as well]

(Adapted from Lewis, 2005)

Kaori addressed Timothy, Richard and I in English and their father in Japanese. Timothy considered himself to be Japanese and he was displeased because he had been addressed in English so he mumbled '*boku mo nihonjin*' (I'm Japanese as well). When I later met Kaori, I asked her why she had addressed him in English and she said it was because her own sons (Anglo-Japanese) did not speak Japanese so she had assumed this was the case with my sons. The assumption would seem to be if one parent is Non-Japanese then the children will not speak Japanese if they live in Britain.

Richard, on the other hand looked more Oriental when he was younger and some people thought he was Chinese (see Song and Aspinall, 2012). His hair was darker and straighter, his eyes were more Oriental in shape and his build was slim (see chapter 4). He fractionated his ethnicities in more nuanced ways (see Aspinall, 2008, p. 22) as he once said, 'I'm 1/10 Welsh (his grandfather's place of birth), 4/10 Japanese and 5/10 English I'm 40% Japanese' (Field notes, 2006). This suggests that he was reaching for some version of mixed- ethnicities which could be

¹¹⁵Murphy-Shigematsu (2008) had a similar experience when he was growing up in Japan in the 1950s.

considered as a version of Anglo-Japanese. At times Richard was not keen to be considered Japanese. He wanted to be English like me and he wanted to differentiate himself from his brother as is evidenced in the following conversation:

CL: are you English or Japanese?

Richard: English.

CL: why?

Richard: coz I was born in England

CL: what about Timothy?

Richard: Japanese Timothy was born in Japan so he's Japanese

Timothy: well I'm Japanese and I'm proud of it

Richard: then go back to Japan and find your mummy (Lewis, 2005).

Richard comes to the conclusion that if Timothy is Japanese then his mother cannot be English so she must be Japanese. Timothy feels angry because Richard is being disloyal to his Japaneseness by saying he is English and Richard feels angry because Timothy is being disloyal to his mother by saying he is Japanese (Lewis, 2005). This suggests that there can be conflicting Anglo -Japanese positionings even with a pair of siblings.

However, on one occasion both Timothy and Richard considered themselves to be white in comparison to black or brown people in their mainstream schools:

Timothy: I'm the only white person in my chemistry class

CL: white are you white?

Timothy: well sort of well you're white so I'm half white I'm a half-caste

CL: no you're not you're international.

Timothy: and on one of the days even the teacher is black.

Richard: the teachers at school are only nice to white children

Mother: are they nice to you?

Richard: yeah coz I'm white (he looks at himself in the mirror to confirm his whiteness) (Field notes, 2006)

In this extract Timothy is stating that in his Advanced Level chemistry class he is the only one who has any claim to whiteness. He seems to be somewhat surprised by this and states that on one of the days even the teacher is black. I am surprised that he self-identified with the derogatory term 'half-caste' as I thought the word had become obsolete. In addition, when he was younger he always asserted his Japaneseness¹¹⁶. I instantly responded by saying that he is 'international' (a translation of the positive Japanese term *kokusai-ji* a term which is used in Japan) (see section 1.5.2). His younger brother, Richard, is also staking a claim to whiteness. He believes it has

¹¹⁶ However, the use of the word half-caste is some version of an affiliation with mixed-ethnicities from a British perspective. It could be considered as a British version of Anglo-Japanese.

positive connotations at school because the teachers are only nice to 'white' children, and they are nice to him so he must be 'white'. He could also be expressing an allegiance to his brother by representing himself as white. These examples show that Timothy, Richard and I are acutely aware of the racialised world in which we live and that 'one's physical appearance is central to how one is perceived in ethnic and racial terms' (Song and Aspinall, 2012, p. 737). As both Richard's and Timothy's racial appearances are ambiguous, they can self-identify with Whiteness and a shifting range of other racial/ethnic positionings (Song and Aspinall, 2012).

Both Richard and Timothy encountered racial stereotypes while at school, some of which were positive and some of which were more negative.

3.2.4 Racial stereotypes

Richard encountered some positive stereotypes at mainstream primary school linked to Japaneseness. An example of this was, 'Japanese people are good at maths'¹¹⁷ so he was keen to be considered Japanese at such times.

Richard: I'm Japanese

CL: why?

Richard: coz I'm good at maths our teacher asked how many Japanese there are in the class coz she knows they're good at maths there're 13

CL: did you put up your hand?

Richard: yeah

CL: does she know Japanese?

Richard: no she knows they're good at maths Junko's the only one who's not in the top group oh and Yukari and Reiko (Field notes, 2006)

Coincidentally, Richard was in the top maths group and he felt very positive about this stereotype so he put his hand up to assert his Japaneseness. However, when he reflected on this he realised that this positive stereotype was not true for all the Japanese as some (Kumi, Yuki and Rei) were not in the top group for maths¹¹⁸.

At his mainstream senior school Richard met with some Japanese stereotypes with negative connotations. A teacher once complained to him that his appearance was not neat enough as his shirt was hanging out. The teacher said that 'Japanese people are supposed to be neat and tidy'¹¹⁹. My son felt that this was a racial comment which should not be allowed. When Richard was younger he enjoyed wearing his *yukata* to international events at his mainstream primary

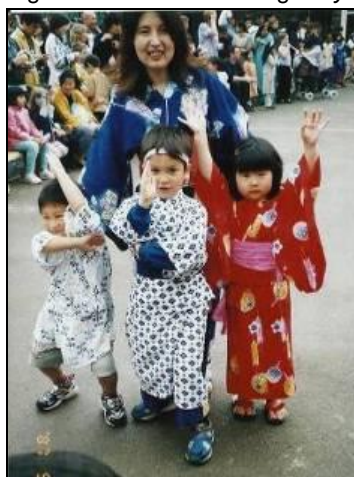
¹¹⁷ This is similar to the popular stereotype that Chinese children are good at maths (Archer and Francis, 2007).

¹¹⁸ The point here is that this racial/ethnic feature is attributed to Japanese people. Richard cannot escape this stereotype but he perceives it to be incorrect as to his mind the stereotype was immediately contradicted by the contextual evidence.

¹¹⁹ My son told me that 'the teacher's wife is Japanese so he thinks he knows about Japanese people' (field notes, 2008).

school (see figure 6) as did Timothy. However, as Richard got older he was less pleased. Richard was thought to look Chinese (see section 4.2.2) so in the international evening at his mainstream senior school he was asked to wear Chinese clothing as part of an international fashion show. He did this but he was very unhappy and he felt this request was racist. At this event Richard provided a counter representation of his culture by performing a dance based on the Diversity Dance group¹²⁰ with three of his black/mixed friends.¹²¹ Timothy seemed to dislike being placed within an exotic Orientalist framework (Said, 2003) at mainstream senior school even though he had enjoyed it at mainstream primary school (see figure 6¹²²). For Richard the notion of Anglo-Japanese would seem to be nested within a range of other mixed-ethnicities in a London context.

Figure 6 - Richard wearing his *yukata* in primary school



At times Timothy's ambiguous racial appearance and his interest in sport seemed to cause problems for him. Once he was accused of talking during an assembly (which he denied). The teacher spoke to him afterwards, gave him a detention and said that 'people like you never amount to much'. I was shocked when my son told me this because the teacher had never spoken to him before so she was obviously judging him solely on his appearance¹²³. Maybe his skin colour was too dark or he was too big to be thought of as intelligent. His physics teacher also advised him not to take Advanced level physics. I asked my son why this was the case and he said she had seen him playing basketball. The teacher was assuming that if you play basketball

¹²⁰ Diversity is an all male London based street dance group formed in 2007 (<http://www.diversityofficial.com/members>). The name Diversity reflects the vast range of dance styles used and the varying height, ages and racialised features of the members of the group (*ibid*).

¹²¹ When with his friends from mainstream school, Richard seemed to self-identify with the 'global branding of black style' (Nayak, 2003, p. 109) 'through music, dress, attitudes and behaviour' (*ibid*, p. 111) linked to blackness/mixed-race'. He did not seem to self-identify with Whiteness as it can be constructed as being 'boring, monolithic and bland' (*ibid.*, p. 115).

¹²² Richard is in the middle. The girl on the right is Mixed-Japanese (MJ1) (Chinese/Japanese) and the boy on the left is British Based Japanese (BBJ-J).

¹²³ The teachers who knew him thought very highly of him.

you cannot be intelligent which could be because basketball is associated with African American street culture. This was clearly not true as he went on to obtain Japanese GCSE, AS and Advanced Level in years 9, 10 and 11 respectively for which he obtained the highest grades possible. He was also a keen musician and he played three instruments. He obtained an A for physics at A Level and he obtained a MEng (Master of engineering) from a prestigious London University. Timothy continued to study advanced Japanese at university and he was a member of the Japanese society for four years and the treasurer for one year. In spite of his appearance and the assumptions made by some of the teachers, my son was a conventionally high achiever with a strong sense of Japaneseness.

Even though I tried to raise my two sons with knowledge of Japanese language and cultural practices the outcomes seemed to be somewhat different. My first son, Timothy, had many 'pure' Japanese friends when he was in primary school and he was proud of his Japaneseness. Even though my second son, Richard, had attended *Hoshūkō* he did not always seem to enjoy the experience. He had more ambivalent ethnic affiliations. In primary school he was proud of his Japaneseness and he was pleased to be associated with positive Japanese racial stereotypes. However, when he was in senior school, he tended to self-identify with his mixed heritage as well because many of his friends at mainstream school were from non-white ethnic groups or of mixed-ethnicities. I believe that these differential outcomes are partly due to the changes in the ethnic mix that seemed to occur in the eight years between my two sons being born. In addition, these differential outcomes demonstrate that young people have a degree of agency over their ethnic affiliations and they are not merely blank slates upon which cultural and language practices can be imprinted. In other words, my two sons had a degree of choice¹²⁴ regarding their ethnic affiliations (see Song, 2003).

The foregoing auto-ethnographic narrative account has been an important means of sketching what I might mean when I propose the 'new' ethnic formation which I have called Anglo-Japanese. I have given two different examples using the upbringing of my two sons, Timothy and Richard, to offer a sense of how the proposed category might be experienced in twenty-first century London. Being Anglo-Japanese in London in a cultural and linguistic sense involves an upfront engagement with Japanese language and literacy practices as is evidenced by all the pre-

¹²⁴ In vernacular speech there are choices of identification available to them: the invisible but hegemonic racialised group 'White' (Dyer, 1997), nationalities/ethnicities in terms of English or Japanese, or the more vague but negative concept of 'mixed-race'. In addition, they could use the term half which is a translation of the Japanese word *hāfu*, meaning half-Japanese and half-American.

school activities in which my two sons were involved. I had to actively seek out these groups and practices so that my two sons could participate in Japanese language and literacy practices as it was difficult to reproduce these practices in the home environment in London with only one Japanese parent. Being Anglo-Japanese requires a degree of ambivalence, shifting and manoeuvring as choices are available regarding the ethnic formations on offer for affiliation at a given time in a given location. This has been amply demonstrated in the foregoing account of Timothy and Richard's ethnic affiliations and positionings.

During the course of my autoethnographic narrative account, which I later consolidated and refined through my fieldwork, I noticed that there was a complication in researching Anglo-Japanese as my informants did not exist in a vacuum, they interacted and overlapped with other Japanese ethnic formations. This meant that my conceptions of Japanese ethnicities in London emerged as even more nuanced than the narrow definition of 'pure' Japanese that exists in Japan (see chapter 1).

3.3 Complexities of Japanese ethnicities at the London *Hoshūkō*

In my auto-ethnographic narrative account and during the course of my fieldwork at *Hoshūkō* I noticed that the notion of Japaneseness was far more nuanced than the *Nihonjinron* binary notion of 'pure' Japanese and 'impure' Japanese predicated upon blood suggested. Not only were there Anglo-Japanese young people but there were also other more subtle positionings. Sugimoto (2010, p. 216) tried to address this issue by stating that there are many Japanese living overseas due to the globalisation of Japanese society and he established 'three types of Japanese who live beyond Japan': (1) Japanese business people and their families, (2) Japanese citizens who choose to live abroad to escape the rigid social system in Japan, and (3) foreigners who are fluent in the Japanese language and who are culturally literate. Sugimoto (2010, p. 217) believes that such people 'are Japanese, linguistically and intellectually'. I argue that such groupings do not capture the complexities that exist at *Hoshūkō*. In order to analyse the Japanese ethnicities at *Hoshūkō*, I propose three main formations of Japanese ethnicities from my questionnaire data: (1) Japanese of Mixed-Ethnicities (JM-E); (2) Japanese-Japanese (J-J); and (3) Non-Japanese (N-J) (see table 2).

Table 2 - Japanese ethnicities at *Hoshūkō*

1) Japanese of Mixed-Ethnicities (JM-E)			
Anglo-Japanese (A-J)		Mixed-Japanese (M-J) ¹²⁵	
Anglo-Japanese with Japanese Language Proficiency (A-J1)	Anglo-Japanese with Limited Japanese Language Proficiency (A-J2)	Mixed-Japanese with one Japanese and one oriental parent (M-J1)	Mixed-Japanese with one Japanese and one parent from a different racially marked ethnic group (M-J2)
2) Japanese-Japanese (J-J)			
Sojourner Japanese-Japanese (SJ-J)		British Based Japanese-Japanese (BBJ-J)	
3) Non-Japanese (N-J)			

I will now explain these conceptualisations and give individual examples of real people from my data in order to avoid a binary depiction of a racially and culturally homogenous group of ‘pure’ Japanese versus ‘impure’ Japanese.

3.3.1 Japanese of Mixed-Ethnicities (JM-E)

My first broad grouping is the JM-Es. I originally subdivided the JM-Es into two broad groupings. (1) Anglo-Japanese (A-J); and (2) Mixed-Japanese (M-J) (see section 3.3.2). Then, I noticed that the notion of A-J was still too broad a concept as language proficiency varied significantly within the group so I subdivided the A-Js into two further groupings: (1) Anglo-Japanese with Japanese language proficiency (A-J1) (see appendix H); and (2) Anglo-Japanese with limited Japanese language proficiency (A-J2)¹²⁶ (see appendix I).

3.3.1.1 Anglo-Japanese (A-J)

As previously mentioned, I will take Anglo-Japanese to mean a young person with one racially Japanese parent and one racially White British parent. I have placed the A-Js who attend *kokugo*¹²⁷ (Japanese for native speakers) classes at *Hoshūkō*¹²⁸ in the A-J1 category and those who attend *nihongo* (Japanese as an Additional Language) classes in the A-J2 category (see

¹²⁵ I have tentatively divided this category into M-J1 and M-J2. I only have eight respondents in this category and three of which are M-J1 (see appendix J).

¹²⁶ My A-J2 category might also embrace those who have never attended *Hoshūkō* and have a lower proficiency than most of my A-J2s.

¹²⁷ See chapters 4 and 5 for a discussion on the *kokugo/nihongo* distinction at *Hoshūkō*.

¹²⁸ There is some overlap between the two groupings as I have placed Dan in the A-J2 group due to his limited Japanese language proficiency even though he attended *kokugo* classes.

section 5.4.2.1). I believe that even though both groupings are racially Anglo-Japanese, their varying degrees of language proficiency divide them into two distinct groups.

3.3.1.2 Anglo-Japanese with Japanese Language Proficiency (A-J1)

A-J1 refers to the young people who have been brought up to speak Japanese so as previously stated they are considered to be proficient enough to join the *kokugo* (Japanese for native speakers) classes at *Hoshūkō*. This is evidenced by my two sons, Timothy and Richard, who have Japanese language proficiency, intense links with Japan and a real affiliation with Japanese cultural practices and artefacts. In addition to my autoethnographic narrative account of Timothy and Richard¹²⁹, during the course of my fieldwork I interviewed 9 A-J1s. From these A-J1 informants I received 9 completed questionnaires, 1 set of photos, 3 photo-essays and 1 written account (see appendices A and B). In addition, I received a further 11 completed questionnaires from other A-J1s at *Hoshūkō* (see appendices A and B). Of the total 66 completed questionnaires I received, 20 were A-J1s. To gain a fuller picture of this formation, see appendix H.

3.3.1.3 Anglo-Japanese with Limited Japanese Language Proficiency (A-J2)

The A-J2s differ from the A-J1s in that due to their lack of Japanese language proficiency,¹³⁰ they have joined *nihongo* (Japanese as an Additional Language) classes at *Hoshūkō*; which were established for the young people of mixed parentage (mainly Anglo-Japanese) (Aizawa, 1999a) (see chapter 5). Of the 17 in the *nihongo* class I observed, 11 were racially Anglo-Japanese (see appendix E). I have also added Dan to this formation. Although Dan attended *kokugo* classes, he left *Hoshūkō* when he was ten and of his own admission could not speak Japanese very well (Interview, 20.06.2012). Thus, of the total 66 completed questionnaires I received, 12 were A-J2.

The A-J2s tended to have weaker Japanese language proficiency than the A-J1s. This may be because they have one Japanese parent who is a fluent English speaker and one non-Japanese parent who may not be committed to Japanese language and cultural practices. I do not have conclusive data to substantiate this claim but it seems feasible from Dan's profile.

¹²⁹ As I have foregrounded this chapter with my relatively in-depth auto-ethnographic narrative account of the upbringing of my two sons, Timothy and Richard, I will not give a further account of an A-J1 informant from my data at this point. This is because I feel that Timothy and Richard encapsulate the ambivalence of the A-J1 category.

¹³⁰ However, from my classroom observations I am aware of the limitations of the questionnaire responses. Although I have placed all the A-Js in the *kokugo* classes in the A-J1 category, some may actually have limited Japanese proficiency and would be better placed in the *nihongo* classes as is the case with Dan.

3.3.1.4 Dan's profile

Although Dan's (A-J2 male, aged 15) father is Japanese and his mother is White British, Dan was brought up to speak mainly English with some understanding of Japanese language and cultural practices. In order to cultivate his Japaneseness, he regularly travelled to Japan to visit relatives usually with his father. However, in his home environment he spoke predominantly English¹³¹ as he said, 'I've always lived in England so as my dad speaks fluent English and so does my mum so I was more brought up on English' (Interview, 20.06.2012). Dan was brought up speaking English as both his mother and his father spoke English fluently. As Dan's parents were fluently communicating in English, it seemed natural to him that he was brought up to speak in English to his father rather than in Japanese.

Dan started attending *kokugo* classes at *Hoshūkō* when he was 7 because both his mother and father wanted him to:

[...] it was both more my dad coz it's like his heritage but my mum also wanted me to do it [attend *Hoshūkō*] coz it's like a good thing to have so if I ever wanted to go on holiday like when I'm older if I can speak Japanese then it would be easier (Interview, 20.06.2012)

Dan's father wanted him to attend *Hoshūkō* so that Dan could affiliate with his Japanese ethnic heritage and his mother wanted him to attend to facilitate travelling to Japan in the future. It seems that his mother wanted him to learn spoken Japanese language rather than literacy so the *kokugo* classes were not suitable for him. He left *Hoshūkō* when he was 10 to pursue his greater interest in dance.

On his own admission, Dan believed he was 'more of an English person who can speak Japanese' rather 'than a Japanese person speaking Japanese' (Interview, 20.06.2012). When I met his mother at an English toddler group she did not seem as committed as I was to Japanese language and cultural practices which could be because she did not have as much time available to socialise with Japanese mothers as she was working full-time whereas I was only working part-time. Dan told me that his mother was unable to teach him Japanese as her Japanese proficiency 'was not to a good enough level' (interview, 20.06.2012). He also went to an English child minder while his mother worked which would have consolidated his English proficiency. Although Dan had attended FCJ and *Hoshūkō* he never seemed to self-affiliate with Japaneseness to the same extent as my son, Richard, had done. I had put this down to his

¹³¹ In his questionnaire response he wrote that he grew up speaking English and Japanese and that he could understand and speak Japanese quite well at the moment.

mother being English rather than Japanese but after interviewing him I can see that it is also because his father is fluent in English.

The A-J2s in the *nihongo* class may have had a similar upbringing to Dan whereby they tried to speak in Japanese to their Japanese parent but they tended to revert to English as English was the dominant language in the home environment. Even if the Japanese parent is not as fluent in English as was the case with Dan's father, English may still be the dominant language in the home environment. In addition, the White British parent may not be as committed to Japanese language and literacy practices to the same extent as I was.

The A-J formation would seem to be an emerging group at *Hoshūkō*. If we combine the A-J1s and the A-J2s, 32 questionnaire responses out of a total of 66 were connected to the A-J formation. Thus, it is clear that many A-J young people attend *Hoshūkō*, affiliate with Japaneseness to varying degrees, and have varying degrees of knowledge of Japanese language and cultural practices (see section 5.4). The majority have Japanese mothers and White British fathers and they have an opportunity to practise Japanese in the home environment. However, at *Hoshūkō* there were also those with one parent who was not White British, and whom I have chosen to call Mixed-Japanese (M-J).

3.3.2 Mixed-Japanese (M-J)

The M-Js have one racially Japanese parent and one parent who is not white British¹³². I have tentatively divided the M-J grouping into two: M-J1, those who have a parent who is Oriental and M-J2, those who have a parent of a different ethnically marked group (see table 2). These two groupings differ in racial terms as the M-J1s can pass as Japanese whereas it is quite likely that the M-J2s cannot. In both groupings the Non-Japanese parent may speak a further language apart from Japanese and English. The M-Js grouping would appear to be quite small at *Hoshūkō* as I only encountered 8 such people in total. I will use Mari's short profile from the questionnaire data to provide an illustrative example of an M-J1 who attended *kokugo* classes at *Hoshūkō*. I realise that the use of questionnaire data makes my interpretive analysis somewhat speculative as I was not able to ask follow up questions to clarify the responses.

¹³² I have put some young people in this category who are White European rather than White British. For example, Maria's father is from Italy and Alison's father is from Germany (see appendix F). Although they are White, they may not be British which means that it is quite possible that they speak another language.

3.3.2.1 Mari's profile

Mari (M-J1 female, aged 18) was born in England to a Japanese mother and a Hong Kong Chinese father. She grew up speaking three languages: English, Japanese and Cantonese. She spoke Cantonese and English to her father, Japanese and English to her mother and Japanese, Cantonese and English to her sister. She self-affiliates with Japaneseness as she wrote the following in her Questionnaire response, 'I like being able to learn more about my culture practise my language skills and speak to other Japanese people' (Questionnaire data). The use of 'my culture' and 'speak to other Japanese people' suggests that she considers herself to be Japanese and racially speaking she can pass as Japanese (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). Her linguistic repertoire seems to be more nuanced than that of the A-Js as she speaks the language of her father and her racial appearance differs because she can be considered Japanese.

If we look at the M-J grouping in appendix J, we can see that the majority have Japanese mothers with the exception of Amy who has a Japanese father and a Sri Lankan mother. Some have a parent from a different racially marked ethnic group. Sigourney has a Kenyan father and a Japanese mother and Nigel has a Nigerian father and a Japanese mother. Those with a parent from a different racially marked group may further disrupt the notion of Japanese racial purity as their skin colouring may be darker than that of the A-Js.

3.3.3 Japanese-Japanese (J-J)

My second broad grouping is the J-Js. I have also sub-divided the J-Js into two formations: (1) Sojourner¹³³ Japanese-Japanese (SJ-J), and (2) British Based Japanese-Japanese (BBJ-J), with length of stay in Britain as a differentiating factor. The SJ-Js usually stay in Britain for between three to five years (Yamado-Yamamoto, 1998, p. 18) whereas the BBJ-Js are here permanently even though they may have started as SJ-Js.

3.3.3.1 Sojourner Japanese-Japanese (SJ-J)

As previously stated, the SJ-Js are racially Japanese-Japanese but they are only in London for a limited period of time. This is because they are in London with their families as their fathers are Japanese company employees who expect to return to Japan to resume their 'permanent' lives after a temporary stay abroad (see Fry, 2009, p. 377). The conditions of their stay abroad are predetermined by their company in terms of when, where and how long they will stay in

¹³³ Fry (2009, pp. 377-379) defines a Japanese sojourner as a Japanese company employee and their family who after a temporary stay abroad expect to return to Japan to resume their "permanent" lives.

London¹³⁴ (Fry, 2009). In other words, these families did not necessarily freely choose to relocate to London.

Of the 66 questionnaire responses I received, only 8 were SJ-J. I have assumed that they are SJ-Js because they were born in Japan to Japanese parents, they have been in England for a relatively short period of time, and they all ticked the box in the questionnaire to say that they are returning to Japan with their families. I did not interview any SJ-J young people so I only have the questionnaire data to refer to. I have chosen Shintaro's questionnaire response to illustrate the profile of an SJ-J. To see a fuller picture of this grouping, refer to appendix K.

3.3.3.2 Shintaro's profile

Shintaro (SJ-J male, aged 11) was born in Japan to two Japanese parents. He was 9 when he came to England so he has been in this country for two years. He grew up speaking Japanese as did his relatives apart from one cousin who lived in Korea who grew up speaking Korean and Japanese. When speaking to his family he uses Japanese but at mainstream school he uses English.

Shintaro started *Hoshūkō* when he was 10 years old. He seems to be very studious as he wrote that he spends ten hours a week completing all his homework from mainstream school as well as from *Hoshūkō*. Shintaro seems pleased to be able to attend *kokugo* classes at *Hoshūkō* as he wrote:

I can talk to my friend in Japanese
I can meet (sic) the people who I can't meet, because we are in the different school (Questionnaire data).

He enjoys the social side of *Hoshūkō* as he can meet Japanese friends who do not attend his mainstream school and he can talk to them in Japanese. *Hoshūkō* is a link to the Japanese vernacular language for Shintaro which seems similar to the sojourners in Fry's (2009, p. 375) study as '*Hoshūkō* was "an oasis" where they could speak freely using their own language'.

Although the SJ-J families did not necessarily choose to move to London, some have stayed here permanently to become British Based Japanese-Japanese (BBJ-J).

3.3.4 The British Based Japanese-Japanese (BBJ-J)

The BBJ-J are those who are racially Japanese-Japanese but who are residing permanently in Britain. Of the 66 questionnaire responses that I received, 17 were BBJ-J. I interviewed 3 BBJ-Js

¹³⁴ They usually stay for a period between two to five years (Yamada-Yamamoto, 1998; Block, 2005).

and I received 2 written accounts and 1 set of photographs (see appendix B). To give a fuller picture of this grouping, see appendix L. In order to illustrate this grouping, I will use Taka whom I interviewed¹³⁵ (10.05.2011).

3.3.4.1 Taka's profile

Taka (BBJ-J male, aged 13)¹³⁶ was born in Japan to two Japanese parents. He grew up speaking Japanese as no one in his wider family spoke any other language apart from Japanese. He moved from Japan to England with his family when he was two years old. Initially his family were SJ-Js as his father was relocated to England with his company. However, the company went bankrupt when they were in England so his father found another job in this country. Now they are permanently resident in London due to the perceived difficulty of finding suitable employment in Japan. This suggests that they have become BBJ-J due to a change in the economic climate.

Taka has strong links with Japan as he travels to Japan once a year with his mother and brother where he stays with his grandparents for a month. When he is in Japan he has to attend *gakken* (private Japanese school) as he told me:

there's a place called *gakken* and you have to go there at 8 o'clock in the morning until 12 it's one hour longer than Japanese school [*Hoshūkō*] and we learn maths we don't learn science and Japanese (Interview, 10.05.2011)

Taka told me that he and his older brother attend every week day but they do not enjoy this experience.

Taka believes he is fluent in Japanese as he said, 'I can speak it [Japanese] fluently' (ibid) and he speaks Japanese at home to his parents. He speaks in English and Japanese with his older brother, Sho (aged 15), as Taka wrote in his written account, 'I only speak Japanese at home with my mum and dad but speak a mix of English and Japanese with my brother'. He also speaks in Japanese and English with his friends at *Hoshūkō* (Questionnaire response) but he only speaks in English with his friends at mainstream school even if they are BBJ-J (interview, 10.05.2011).

Even though he is racially 'pure' Japanese he differentiates himself in a cultural sense from the SJ-Js. He attended a Japanese tea ceremony at the British museum when his grandmother visited London but did not enjoy the experience as he said:

it was quite you had to sit there for me it was a bit boring [...] coz I'm not like those fully Japanese people I don't know much about teas (Interview, 10.05.2011)

¹³⁵ I also interviewed his mother, Michiko and his brother Sho, which gave me further insight into Sho's profile.

¹³⁶ I also interviewed his older brother and his mother.

Taka is differentiating himself from the SJ-Js by using the term ‘fully Japanese’¹³⁷. In addition, he says he does not know much about traditional cultural practices such as the tea ceremony whereas he believes that the SJ-Js do.

Of the total 66 questionnaires I received, 25 questionnaire responses were Japanese-Japanese: of which 17 were BBJ-J and 8 were SJ-J. It seems to me that the SJ-J formation is diminishing in numbers whereas the BBJ-J formation is increasing in numbers at *Hoshūkō*. This could be due to the economic downturn in Japan which started in the 1990s¹³⁸ (Sugimoto, 2009). However, it can be difficult to differentiate the two groups at *Hoshūkō* because both groups are racially Japanese and they all attend *kokugo* classes at *Hoshūkō*.

3.3.5 Non-Japanese (N-J)

My third broad grouping is the Non-Japanese. The N-Js are the young people who do not have a Japanese-Japanese parent. This grouping is the most unusual one of all at *Hoshūkō*. Of the 66 questionnaire responses, only Martha (see appendix I) in the *nihongo* class I observed fits this formation. I am using Martha’s questionnaire responses to construct her profile.

3.3.5.1 Martha’s profile

Martha (N-J female, aged 16) was born in Sweden to a Russian mother and an Iraqi father. She grew up speaking English to her father and Russian to her mother. Her wider family speak largely Russian and Arabic as Arabic is used by her father’s side of the family. She has one cousin who grew up speaking Swedish and Russian. At mainstream school she is learning French, German and Spanish and she is learning Japanese in the *nihongo* (Japanese as an Additional Language) department at *Hoshūkō*. She seems to be somewhat of a linguist. However, because her mother and father do not speak Japanese a friend helps her with her Japanese homework. Although Martha seems to enjoy attending *Hoshūkō*, she would seem to notice a difference between her Japanese proficiency and that of the Japanese-Japanese as she wrote in her questionnaire response:

I have good friends here and there are good teacher. Sometimes I find it harder due to the fact that im (sic.) not Japanese (Questionnaire data).

In line with the *Nihonjinron* ideology Martha seems to be equating ‘race’ with Japanese language proficiency.

¹³⁷ In Francis *et al.*’s (2010) study some respondents self-identified as ‘half Chinese and half English’, which suggests that they are differentiating themselves from those living in Hong Kong or mainland China as opposed to Britain.

¹³⁸ The 1990s are referred to as the “lost decade” as the Japanese economy entered into a period of ‘stagnation and recession’ (Sugimoto, 2009, p. xv) (see chapter 1).

Martha seems to be attending *Hoshūkō* because she enjoys learning languages as she is familiar with six languages: English, Russian, French, Spanish, German and Japanese. She could also be attending *Hoshūkō* because Japanese language proficiency could be regarded as a form of linguistic capital (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991) (cf. Francis *et al.*, 2010). Japan is an economically powerful country (Sugimoto, 2009) and it is a member of the G8 (BBC News, 2012) so learning Japanese could increase Martha's social mobility in the future.

Martha is a particularly interesting example of someone with no ethnic affiliation to Japan participating in Japaneseness albeit in the *nihongo* (Japanese for non-native speakers) department at *Hoshūkō*. Such an example may well be a new phenomenon in contemporary super-diverse London (Vertovec, 2007), but it also appears in other complementary schools in London including Chinese (Francis *et al.* 2010b, p. 113) and Latin American (Spanish) (Kelsall, 2012, p. 158). Although I have highlighted that such a phenomenon appears at the London *Hoshūkō*, and further research into this category is much needed, such research is beyond the scope of this thesis. This is because the purpose of this section is to deconstruct the essentialist notion of Japaneseness as promulgated by widely circulating ideologies by illustrating the nuances that exist within such a category at the London *Hoshūkō* rather than providing in-depth research into each category.

It is clear that the young people who attend the London *Hoshūkō* have highly nuanced Japanese ethnicities which make it difficult to place them within the narrow and restrictive criteria of 'pure' Japanese promulgated by the ideology of *Nihonjinron*.

3.4 The notion of 'pure' Japanese at *Hoshūkō*

The existence of the A-Js and the other Japanese ethnicities in urban settings in London and South East England constitutes a challenge to the conventional notion of 'pure' Japanese in Japan, because they problematise the basic question of who the Japanese (*nihonjin*) really are (Sugimoto, 2010). According to Sugimoto (2010, p. 193; adapted from Mouer and Sugimoto, 1995, p. 246) the *Nihonjinron* notion of what constitutes 'pure' Japanese¹³⁹ can be determined by the application of the following rigorous and restrictive criteria: (1) Japanese nationality, (2) two racially Japanese parents¹⁴⁰, (3) Japanese language proficiency¹⁴¹, (4) Japanese naissance, (5)

¹³⁹ I am using the term 'pure' Japanese for the reasons previously stated. However, Mouer and Sugimoto (1995, p. 246) use the term '*ware ware Nihonjin*' [we Japanese] and Sugimoto (2010, p. 193) uses the term 'Most Japanese'.

¹⁴⁰ Sugimoto, 2012, p. uses the term 'pure' Japanese genes which I have replaced with two 'racially Japanese' parents.

Japanese residency, and (6) Japanese cultural literacy. The exclusivist viewpoint is that if a person satisfies all these criteria, only then can they belong to the hegemonic group the 'pure' Japanese (Sugimoto, 2010). In what follows, I will demonstrate how none of my ethnic categorisations can be considered 'pure' Japanese in the *Nihonjinron* sense of the word.

Table 3 - My ethnic categories

Ethnic Categorisations	Japanese Nationality	Two Japanese Parents	Japanese Language and Literacy Proficiency	Born in Japan	Resident in Japan	Japanese Cultural Literacy
A-J1	✓	x	✓/x	✓/x	x	✓/x
AJ-2	✓	x	x	✓/x	x	x
M-J	✓	x	✓/x	✓/x	x	✓/x
SJ-J	✓	✓	✓/x	✓/x	x	✓/x
BBJ-J	✓	✓	✓/x	✓/x	x	✓/x
N-J	x	x	✓/x	x	x	✓/x

Source: Adapted from Mouer and Sugimoto (1995, p. 246) and Sugimoto (2010, p. 193).

I will summarise the information in table 3 by referring to: the Anglo-Japanese (A-J), the Mixed-Japanese (M-J), the Japanese-Japanese (J-J) and the Non-Japanese (N-J) (see table 2).

3.4.1 The Anglo-Japanese (A-J)

If these restrictive criteria are applied to my research informants, the A-Js, it becomes clear that they problematise the notion of 'pure' Japanese in a racial and cultural sense. (1) The A-Js can have Japanese nationality because they have some Japanese blood. However, as previously stated, dual nationality is not permitted in Japan so they have to denounce a nationality at the age of twenty two (Ministry of Justice, 1998-2006). (2) The A-Js only have one racially Japanese parent which means that they may not look racially Japanese which undermines the notion of uni-raciality (see chapters 1 and 4). (3) The A-Js have varying degrees of Japanese language and literacy proficiency. The A-J1s attending *kokugo* classes destabilise the race equals language equation (see section 4.2.3). (4) The A-Js may/may not have been born in Japan. (5) Although the A-Js are permanently resident in Britain, they regularly travel to Japan to visit their relatives

¹⁴¹ Sugimoto (2010, p.193) uses the term language competence, however, I am using the term proficiency because I feel this term means a greater degree of language knowledge which the *Nihonjinron* ideology seems to imply.

(see section 7.1). (6) The A-Js have varying degrees of cultural literacy. The A-J1s attend *Hoshūkō* and they routinely participate in traditional Japanese cultural practices outside *Hoshūkō* (see chapter 7).

However, in spite of the A-J1's strong affiliations with Japanese language and cultural practices, they remain outside the hegemonic *Nihonjin* (Japanese) formation (Befu, 2003) because they do not satisfy all the restrictive criteria, the most significant of which would appear to be the need to look racially 'pure' Japanese (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008).

3.4.2 The Mixed-Japanese (M-J)

If these restrictive criteria are applied to my research informants, the M-Js, it becomes clear that they can further problematise the notion of 'pure' Japanese in both a racial and cultural sense. (1) In terms of nationality the JM-Es are similar to the A-Js (see (1) above). (2) The M-Js only have one racially Japanese parent but as previously stated the M-J1s can pass as Japanese (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008) whereas the M-J2s cannot. (3) Similar to the A-Js the M-Js have varying degrees of Japanese language and literacy proficiency, (4) they may/may not have been born in Japan, (5) they are living permanently in Britain and (6) they have varying degrees of cultural literacy.

In a cultural and linguistic sense, the M-Js are similar to the A-Js. However, racially speaking they are different. If one of their parents is Oriental, they can pass as Japanese-Japanese (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008), however, if one of their parents is from a different racially marked group, they may further disrupt the notion that only the racially 'pure' Japanese can speak Japanese. If one parent is Black British, the young people could be perceived as being black which is the case with black/white individuals in Britain, who are perceived to be black rather than white or mixed (see Song and Aspinall, 2012).

3.4.3 The Japanese-Japanese (J-J)

If the restrictive *Nihonjinron* criteria are applied to my research informants, the J-Js, it becomes clear that they also problematise the notion of 'pure' Japanese in a cultural and linguistic sense. (1) The J-Js have Japanese nationality as they have (2) two racially Japanese parents. (3) The J-Js have various degrees of language and literacy proficiency (see chapter 5). The SJ-Js language and literacy proficiency may be greater than the BBJ-Js when they first arrive in Britain as it is likely that they have lived in Japan for an extended period of time. The BBJ-Js' language

and literacy proficiency may not be greater than the A-J1s (see chapter 5). (4) The J-Js were born in Japan but (5) they live (are living) in England: the S-J-Js will return to Japan whereas the BBJ-Js are permanently resident in this country. (6) The J-Js have varying degrees of cultural literacy. If we compare the J-Js with the notion of 'pure' Japanese, although racially speaking the J-Js are 'pure' Japanese, they live (are living) in Britain and their mainstream schooling is in English their Japanese cultural literacy proficiency may not be so clear cut.

When the SJ-Js return to Japan, they have tended to be perceived as different in a cultural and linguistic sense from the 'pure' Japanese who have not lived abroad for an extended period of time (Goodman, 2003). Thus, special schools were established in Japan to cater for their specific needs (*ibid.*). However, in Japan the the SJ-Js have been de-problematized and the boundaries demarcating what it means to be Japanese have been widened to include the SJ-Js (Goodman, 2003 and 2012). This could be because the SJ-Js are racially 'pure' Japanese, and many are the off-spring of socio-economically advantaged families (Goodman, 2003). It would seem unlikely that the *Nihonjinron* ideology would purposely exclude the off-spring of such socio-economically advantaged people in Japanese society.

Although the BBJ-Js are racially similar to the SJ-Js, they may differ from the SJ-Js linguistically and culturally as they have lived in Britain for most of their lives. Thus, in this respect if the racial idiom is relinquished, the similarities between the A-Js and the other ethnic formations, in particular the BBJ-Js, at *Hoshūkō* become greater as they are all negotiating different positionings in different contexts in terms of language and cultural practices (see chapter 5) whilst permanently resident in Britain. In other words, they all have available to them a variety of modes of participation with the practices constituting 'Japaneseness'. This phenomenon is something which I had not anticipated before I started my research.

3.4.4 The Non-Japanese (N-J)

If these restrictive criteria are applied to my research informants, the N-Js, it becomes clear that they substantially problematize the notion of 'pure' Japanese. (1) The N-Js cannot have Japanese nationality as (2) they do not have a racially Japanese parent, however, (3) they may have varying degrees of Japanese language proficiency for the same reasons as the A-J1s and the A-J2s (see chapter 5). (4) The N-Js may/may not have been born in Japan and (5) they are living in Britain. (6) They may have varying degrees of cultural literacy. According to these

restrictive criteria, the N-Js can only claim Japaneseness on linguistic and cultural grounds; which is similar to the M-J2s. Their ability to pass as Japanese will depend upon the racial features of their parents.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown what the Anglo-Japanese formation might encompass with my auto-ethnographic narrative account of my two sons, Timothy and Richard. I have argued that Anglo-Japanese is an emerging ethnic formation in Britain which challenges the racial notion of 'pure' Japanese. I have also demonstrated that the Anglo-Japanese that I have identified in this chapter do not exist in a vacuum as they interact with and overlap with other Japanese ethnic positionings emerging from my research and from my routine experiences of bringing up two Anglo-Japanese sons from 1989 to 2015. All my proposed *formations* shared the experience of *Hoshūkō* and have arisen from my fieldwork data. They all challenge the essentialist notion of racially 'pure' Japanese to varying degrees. It was the openness of the new ethnicities paradigm combined with my empirical observations that allowed me to perceive the workings of the differing orientations to Japaneseness I have outlined in this chapter.

In the next chapter I will demonstrate the saliency of the racial idiom in the lives of the Anglo-Japanese both in Britain and in Japan.

Chapter 4 The racialisation of ethnicity

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I argue that the Anglo-Japanese would seem to unsettle the *Nihonjinron* notion of uni-raciality and the 'race' equals language equation. The ethnicity of the A-Js constantly revolves around the racial idiom in both Britain and Japan because their racial ambiguity appears problematic for modes of thought dominated by racial thinking. In order to self-ascribe their mixedness the A-Js in my research tend to use the term half in Britain¹⁴² and *hāfu* (half Japanese/half American) in Japan to (cf. Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). However, *hāfu* (half) is a biologically derived Japanese term originating from the racist English word half-caste (see chapter 1) which strongly links ethnicity to 'race'. This term does, however, give the A-Js the semblance in vernacular Japanese of comprising a specific ethnic group, albeit on racial grounds. In spite of this quasi recognition of their mixedness in Japan, it is generally the foreign (assumed American) side of their ancestry which seems to be stressed rather than the Japanese side (cf. Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). In Britain, the same seems to be true but the foreign side is often thought to be Chinese (cf. Song and Aspinall, 2012). This suggests that for many of the A-Js their Japaneseness goes largely unrecognised in both Britain and Japan when observers draw upon the racial idiom.

4.2 Problematic racialised boundaries

As previously stated, the physical features of the Anglo-Japanese would appear to be ambiguous and as such it is difficult to assign them to a single racial categorisation (see chapters 1 and 3). I am using my two sons as an illustrative example of such racial ambiguity (see figure 7).

Figure 7 - Timothy and Richard



¹⁴² In Aspinall's (2008, p. 22) study 24% of the respondents used the term half as in 'half Japanese half English' or 'half White British, half Jamaican' to describe themselves.

As stated in chapter 3, Richard (on the left) looks slightly Oriental (Chinese) by prevailing social norms in Britain. This is largely due to the shape of his eyes and his straight dark brown hair. Timothy (on the right), on the other hand, looks more ambiguous, due to his curly hair and more European-like features, making it harder to place him within a single racial categorisation. Even though Richard and Timothy are siblings, they would seem to be racially positioned as different from each other. However, what they have in common is that when they are in London the assumption is that they are not White British, conversely, when they are in Tokyo the assumption is that they are not Japanese. This suggests that when the racial idiom is applied they tend not to be placed within the hegemonic majority grouping in either location (cf. Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008).

A similar scenario unfolds for the other A-Js in my research. In London and South East England they tend not to be considered White British. The foreign part of their ancestry, however slight it appears to be, is often stressed (cf. Song and Aspinall, 2012). This means that those with whom the A-Js interact often wonder aloud what the A-Js are or where they are from. If they are considered to have Oriental features, particularly in terms of the shape of their eyes, the assumption is that they are Chinese (Song and Aspinall, 2012).

In London and South East England there is a mismatch between how the A-Js perceive themselves and how they are perceived by others. They are seen as “different” (Song and Aspinall, 2012, p. 741) because ‘the public’s racial imaginary is still pretty limited’ and people have ‘narrow understandings of what someone of a particular ancestry is supposed to look like’ (*ibid.*, p. 750). This is all the more pertinent to the A-Js as the notion of Japaneseness or even part Japanese does not seem to enter into the imagination of the public.

4.2.1 What are you?

In Britain the ‘what are you?’ question is one of the most common questions asked of people of mixed ethnicities by people they do not know (Aspinall and Song, 2012, p. 19). This question is prompted by ‘a person’s perceived racial/ethnic ambiguity’ (*ibid.*). Another similar, albeit seemingly more polite, question is ‘Where are you from?’ If these questions are not asked directly, there is still the sense that these thoughts are entering into the minds of those with whom the A-Js come into contact for the first time as was evidenced above.

Masako (A-J1 female, aged 16) believes that when she is travelling by train in London with her Japanese and/or Anglo-Japanese friends naturally conversing in Japanese the people they encounter are wondering what they are:

[...] if I'm on the train [after *Hoshūkō*] I'm on my way home with Japanese friends people might think that we're on holiday or something [...] coz we speak in Japanese everyone around us doesn't know what we are [...] especially I'm just with half Japanese friends because we're not obviously a certain race (interview, 07.06.2011).

The same would seem to be true for Yukiko (A-J1 female, aged 16) who demonstrates the complexity of her appearance in racial terms:

they [people who do not know her] get confused personally I think I look more Oriental but I've met people and they are like what are you [...] they tend to think I'm kind of a mixture but they're never really sure [...] my English friends tend to think I'm Oriental looking and my Oriental friends think I'm more English looking (interview, 21.04.2011)

The people Yukiko encounters tend to think her appearance is ambiguous in racial terms. However, the opinions of her peers vary according to their own racial appearances. Those who are White British tend to think she is Oriental and those who are Oriental tend to think she is White British. Thus, they stress the foreign side of her ancestry based on their own racial appearances. However, Yukiko, who has lived in London all her life, tends to side with her White British friends as she thinks she looks more Oriental. What is clear, however, is that the two broad choices available to Yukiko would seem to be 'Oriental' versus 'English' with the vague notion of mixedness occasionally placed somewhere between the two opposite poles.

Carl (A-J1 male, aged 18), who also lives in London, tends to be pigeonholed into his minority 'race' (cf. Song and Aspinall, 2012, p. 740). However, the problem is his minority 'race' is not self-evident from his appearance as he said:

when people see me for the first time they sense that I'm not completely British [...] but they don't really know slightly Far Eastern but yeah so no one thinks oh he's completely British everyone thinks there's always that hint of something (interview, 06.07.2011)

Carl's physical appearance conjures up the image of 'Far Eastern' in the minds of those he encounters.

Andrea's (A-J1 female, aged 12) racial appearance would appear to be slightly more ambiguous for those with whom she comes into contact in Cambridge:

it's like I don't look English but I don't really look anything else coz I'm a kind of cross between so usually they [people who do not know her] just guess random countries (interview, 25.06.2011)

In Andrea's case people cannot easily place her within existing racial compartments from her appearance alone so her racialised ethnicity becomes something of a 'guessing game' (cf. Song and Aspinall, 2012, p. 742). This is because 'there are no wide-spread social conventions in Britain about how to classify these part-Asian [...] groups' (*ibid.*).

Nicky (A-J1 female, aged 15) who also lives in Cambridge feels the need to explain the racialised ethnicity of her parents in answer to the 'where are you from?' question:

sometimes they (people she does not know) ask where are you from [...] so I just say my dad's from England and my mum's from Japan just to like clear things up (interview, 16.05.2011)

Due to Nicky's mixedness, 'there is no neat and easy answer' (Aspinall and Song, 2013, p. 19) to the 'where are you from?' question: it necessitates an explanation rather than a one word direct response even though one of her parents is White British. This highlights the extent to which the racial idiom underpins the ethnicity of her and her family.

In Britain racial markers are commonly used to assign a person to a specific racial category. Assigning the A-Js to a single racial category is not easy as their physical appearance is ambiguous. In a British context, at least having what are considered to be 'orientally' shaped eyes, appears to be read as a marker of Chineseness and not Japaneseness.

4.2.2 It's the eyes

As previously stated, if the shape of the A-Js eyes is considered to be Oriental, the common assumption in this country is that they are Chinese as Andrea (A-J1 female, aged 12) who lives in Cambridge remarked:

so usually the first thing they say is are you Chinese coz that's the first thing everyone thinks of when it's Asian (interview, 25.06.2011)

As Dyer (1997, p. 42) points out, 'it is usually the shape of the eyes that is critical in deciding whether someone is 'white' or 'yellow'. This is because skin colour alone is not enough to clearly mark 'yellow' Chinese from White British people.

Eleanor (A-J1 female, aged 12), who also lives in Cambridge, finds this association with Chineseness mildly irritating and she is forced to describe herself as 'half Japanese':

[...] at the beginning of the year we had a little thing where we had to write about ourselves and then tell it to the class we had a new boy come and he goes are you Chinese and I said no I'm half Japanese which can get a little bit annoying coz they instantly think Chinese they won't say Japanese or Korean or anything like that they just say Chinese [...] I think it's quite common because there are lots of Chinese people in England (interview 09.04.2011)

She justifies this assumption by saying that there are many Chinese people living in England.

Although Dan (A-J2 male, aged 15) lives in an area of London where there is a relatively large Japanese community, he is also considered to be Chinese:

it's strange coz whenever I meet English people they always know that I'm not English they always think I'm Oriental the usual thing is Chinese (interview, 20.06.2011)

Despite living in London where ‘any hue or mixture’ is considered unremarkable (Song and Aspinall, 2012, p. 746), there seems to be a ‘continuing preoccupation with racial difference in everyday life’ (*ibid.*, p. 732) as is evidenced by the Anglo-Japanese ethnic formation.

The above examples highlight the apparent need in Britain to straight jacket people into a singular distinct narrow categorisation based on physical features which are linked to putative nationalities or racialised ethnic groups (Ali, 2003; Fanshawe and Sriskandarajah, 2010; Song and Aspinall, 2012). A common assumption is that the A-Js are Chinese, which seems to equate with some of their racialised features.

Eleanor’s (A-J1 female, aged 12) friend, however, did not seem to notice the shape of her eyes until she drew upon the term ‘half Japanese’ to self ascribe her racial appearance as Eleanor explained to me:

I get on the bus on Mondays and Fridays straight after school to go to a dance class and one boy goes I said to him you can speak fluent in French can’t you coz I lived there for a bit¹⁴³ and he goes yeah and I said I can speak another language too I’m half Japanese and he said oh yeah I can see it it’s kind of your eyes and I said yeah but I think that’s what people can recognise that’s the eyes (interview 09.04.2011)

Eleanor is trying to share some common ground with the boy in question as she knows he can speak French fluently so she says that she is ‘half Japanese’. The implication is she can speak Japanese. As soon as the boy hears the term ‘half Japanese’, however, he becomes fixated on her racial features in terms of the shape of her eyes rather than on her linguistic ability, which for Eleanor is more pertinent. This demonstrates the salience of racial features to the people with whom Eleanor comes into contact in Cambridge.

A similar scenario unfolds when the A-Js visit areas of Japan mainly outside Tokyo. With the influence of the *Nihonjinron* ideology, there is an implication that Japan is racially homogenous and that only stereotypical racialised Japanese features are a confirmation of a person’s Japaneseness (see chapter 1).

4.2.3 The Anglo-Japanese in Japan

Nicky (A-J1 female, aged 16) is labelled ‘half’ or ‘*gaijin*’ when she visits her grandparents in Shikoku¹⁴⁴:

CL: so do people say anything when they see you in Japan?

Nicky: yeah they go are you half which is quite obvious we [her and her two sisters] are half so you’re half (interview, 16.05.2011)

¹⁴³ Eleanor was born in France, her half sister lives in France and she is learning French at school so she can recognise that he is a fluent French speaker.

¹⁴⁴ Shikoku is the smallest of the four main islands of Japan.

Nicky is labelled as half, and she fails to understand why there is a constant need to remind her of this when she feels that her and her sisters' mixedness is clearly visible from their appearances. Although the term half is commonly used in Japan to describe a person of mixed ethnicities, I feel it is being used here to emphasise that Nicky and her sisters are not Japanese to those who self-identify as Japanese. This means that the Japanese side of Nicky's ancestry is downplayed. Being 'half' in Shikoku, the island from where her mother comes, would seem to be more remarkable than in Cambridge where she lives in England, as Nicky stated:

Nicky: [...] there's no other nationalities [in Japan] everyone's Japanese so if you're half English¹⁴⁵ you stand out so much [...] umm yeah coz every time I go to Japan everyone kind of looks

CL: oh right so you noticed that whereas here do you think you stand out?

Nicky: I don't stand out coz everyone else is from everywhere (*ibid.*)

When Nicky visits her grandparents in Shikoku it is noticeable that she is Anglo-Japanese as the vast majority of the residents would seem to be racially Japanese. Thus, she feels that when she goes to Japan, people openly stare at her whereas she does not feel that this is the case in Cambridge as it is more racially diverse.

When Nicky attended a mainstream Japanese school¹⁴⁶ in Shikoku a boy labelled her as *gaijin* (foreigner):

[...] a boy in the corridor [in a Japanese mainstream school] just stood there and stared and said there's a *gaijin* [foreigner] in the corridor I was like thanks (Nicky, A-J1 female, aged 16, interview, 16.05.2011)

By using the derogatory term *gaijin*, Nicky was clearly made to feel that her mixedness was out of place in twenty-first century Shikoku, Japan. The boy in question appears to be influenced by *Nihonjinron* logic which suggests that to be Japanese you have to look racially Japanese (see section 1.3) whereas this Anglo-Japanese young person is present in a Japanese school in Shikoku even though racially she does not look Japanese to her interlocutor. The use of the word *gaijin* demonstrates that 'the perceptual basis of Japanese and 'foreigner' [...] has yet to be abandoned' (Heinrich, 2012a, p. 26).

Albert (A-J1 male, aged 14) caused a feeling of surprise when he went to a Japanese middle school in Nagoya, Japan where no one knew him as he said:

so some people who didn't know me just seemed to open the way for me and just looked at me as I passed which sort of felt a bit alienating but they were all a bit surprised (A-J1 male, aged 14, interview, 25.06.2011)

In Albert's case his racial difference was not verbalised but he was made to feel uncomfortable by the reaction of some of his Japanese peers as they were surprised that someone who does not

¹⁴⁵ Here she is using 'half English' instead of half Japanese which could be because she is focusing on the foreign side of her ancestry in Japan.

¹⁴⁶ As the A-Js are half Japanese they are entitled to attend a mainstream school (field notes, 11.06.2010) when they visit Japan.

look racially Japanese was suddenly present in a school in Nagoya. These two examples are indicative of the way in which the A-Js can cause difficulties for prevalent racial conceptualisations amongst Japanese people and they illustrate the ways in which the presence of the A-Js in non-metropolitan locations in Japan disturbs the norms of the ideology of uni-raciality. This could be because 'the reality at public schools [in Japan] seems to be monocultural' (Castro-Vazquez, 2013, p. 73) (see chapter 5).

Although Masako's (A-J1 female, aged 16) difference causes people to openly look at her in Japan, she feels that her difference at a mainstream school in Fukuoka¹⁴⁷ was viewed more positively. However, Masako would seem to be mildly surprised by this given the *Nihonjinron*'s strong stance on uni-raciality (Yoshino, 1992):

Masako: [...] in Japan most people notice that I'm not fully¹⁴⁸ Japanese

CL: oh right so what do people in Japan say when they see you?

Masako: I'm not sure but it's not as multicultural there as it is here so I definitely notice more people looking at me [...] but when I went to school there some girls thought I was interesting so they actually made an effort to be my friend which was nice [...] and I didn't really get bullied or anything (interview, 07.06.2011)

When Masako attended a mainstream school in Japan she makes a point by stating that she was not bullied due to her racial difference. This suggests that she is familiar with the implications of uni-raciality which can lead to bullying and/or ostracisation from the group by the peers of those who look racially different at mainstream school in Japan (Daulton and Akinori, 2000; Kamada, 2010; Aspinall, 2014). However, she like Nicky does feel that more people look at her pointedly due to her perceived racial difference even if they do not directly question her racialised ethnicity. Her justification for this heightened awareness of 'race' is that Fukuoka is less racially mixed than London.

In areas of Japan outside Tokyo, the A-Js find the people they encounter on a daily basis are somewhat surprised by their racial difference. This feeling of surprise could be largely due to the widely circulating ideology that Japan is racially homogenous (see section 1.3.1). It could also be because the A-Js in my research do not stay in Tokyo, where Graburn and Ertl (2008, p. 21) predict that the next generation of school aged children in Tokyo 'should be about 25 percent non- or half-Japanese'. This seems to suggest that mixedness in Tokyo is on the increase whereas this does not seem to be the case outside Tokyo as was evidenced by my data.

¹⁴⁷ Fukuoka is a city on the island of Kyushu.

¹⁴⁸ Masako could be using the term 'fully Japanese' as it is opposite to 'half Japanese'.

For those who do not look racially Japanese there exist three rather restrictive choices in the imagination of the public: *hāfu* (half Japanese/half American); *Amerikajin* (American) or *gaijin* (foreigner) (Befu, 2009). The latter two can have definite pejorative connotations as the implication is that a person is not Japanese (ibid, p. 37) and the former has racist associations with the English term half caste (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). Befu states that such epithets emphasise:

the issues of xenophobic Japanese who cannot accept those who do not 'look like us' as fellow Japanese, even though they may be legally Japanese (Befu, 2009, p. 31).

Befu believes that a racial hierarchy exists in Japan, as in Britain, with those who are deemed racially and culturally Japanese at the top which means that my A-J formation is 'forever condemned to the second class' as they cannot emulate the 'pure' Japanese in racial terms (ibid). In other words, their appearance alone implicitly denies them any claims to Japaneseness.

However, Dan (A-J2 male, aged 15) adds a subtle twist to the argument. When he visits his grandparents in Chiba¹⁴⁹ there is a perception that Dan is Japanese, which is problematic because it is a purely biologically based notion of Japaneseness that is assumed:

I have been on holiday with my mum not really like not really at all but sometimes when my dad's got work he doesn't sometimes come so I have been at times just with my mum on holiday and I have been asked if I'm adopted [...] it could be because I'm with my mum and they can't comprehend the fact that perhaps my dad is Japanese (interview, 20.06.2011)

Although Chiba is situated within the Greater Tokyo Area, the presence of Dan who seemed to be perceived as racially 'pure' Japanese is problematic for those he encounters because his mother is White British. Those he encounters try to apply *Nihonjinron* logic that to be 'pure' Japanese both parents have to be 'pure' Japanese. In Dan's case one parent is obviously not 'pure' Japanese so the only logical conclusion to be drawn from the situation is that Dan must have been adopted. This example highlights that even in the Greater Tokyo Area an A-J family is beyond the imagination of some of the Japanese in twenty-first century Japan.

Siblings Andrea (A-J1 female, aged 12) and Albert (A-J1 male, aged 14) add a further complication to my argument as racially speaking their appearances are contradictory which as previously stated is similar to my two sons.

in Japan we always go in summer and my hair goes curly because of the heat so my brother looks well he used to look more Japanese than me so everyone said to my brother how come your sister's American but you're Japanese [...] I'm not American and we're both the same nationality (Andrea, A-J1 female, aged 12, interview, 25.06.2011)

When Andrea and her brother visit her grandparents in 'Nagoya in Aichi ken [prefecture]' which she says is a 'reasonably big city', there is some discrepancy surrounding her and her brother's

¹⁴⁹ Chiba Prefecture is situated in the Kanto region and the Greater Tokyo Area.

racialised heritage. Andrea and her brother's physical features were set in opposition when they were younger so the perception was that her brother was Japanese whereas she was American due to the texture of her hair. This suggests that Albert could pass as Japanese as the interlocutor asked Albert (in Japanese) and not Andrea the question about Andrea's nationality. This left Andrea feeling uncomfortable as she was not only marked as different from her brother but also from mainstream Japaneseness. This suggests that the physical appearances of the two siblings were positioned differently in racial terms in Nagoya, Japan.

In Japan the Anglo-Japanese are largely constructed as different due to their mixedness. The Japanese generally seem to feel the need to pass judgment on the A-Js racial heritage whether they perceive the A-Js as *hāfu* (half Japanese), *gaijin* (foreigner), or *Amerikajin* (American). This is because their racial appearance is always set in opposition to the notion of 'pure' Japanese. There is further variability in the appearance of this group (cf. Song and Aspinall, 2012) as Albert (A-J1 male, 14) and Dan (A-J2 male, aged 15) were perceived as being Japanese when they were younger. This still caused confusion as they appeared to be racially different from other family members. This points to the phenomenon in which the perception of the A-Js in racial terms is not fixed at birth as is commonly assumed because there would appear to be subtle changes in their racial appearance from birth to adulthood.

4.2.4 Changing racialised features

Andrea (A-J1 female, aged 12) believes that how her brother is perceived in racial terms in Nagoya has changed recently due to a spurt in growth:

Andrea: so he [Albert] looks more Japanese than I do but now he's looking more sort of English than Japanese

CL: right so has it changed how people see you in Japan?

Andrea: I think most people realise that he's not Japanese because of his height

CL: right

Andrea: because most Japanese people aren't that tall so the first thing they think is oh he must be half or something (Andrea, A-J1 female, aged 12, interview, 25.06.2011)

Because of Albert's height, Andrea believes that her brother is now labelled 'half' as the assumption is that Japanese are not tall. This suggests that height is a racialised marker of ethnicity in Japan which is brought into question by Albert's presence. Although Albert can converse quite naturally in Japanese and he can manage at a Japanese school, he cannot be considered Japanese largely due to his height. This demonstrates the facile nature of the idiom

of race as one slight change in a person's appearance can disrupt how s/he is perceived by others.

Dan's (A-J2 male, aged 15) self-perceptions have also changed with age:

Dan: [...] I used to look much more oriental when I was a baby as I look older I think I look more just

CL: more western

Dan: yeah definitely¹⁵⁰

CL: yeah I think it's the same with Richard (my younger son) as well yeah coz when he was born he had like black hair sticking up like Japanese babies

Dan: same as what I had really like really squinty eyes

CL: yeah

Dan: and just looked so oriental

CL: the hair

Dan: mine was like really black (interview, 20.06.2011)

Dan believes that when he was born he looked more racially Japanese as he had 'squinty eyes' and sticking up hair which was 'really black'. Now he thinks he is more European looking as his racial features have changed. I share some common ground with him because I think the same is true for my younger son, Richard. This suggests that the A-Js physical features change as they reach adolescence which can alter the way in which the A-Js perceive themselves and are perceived by the Japanese in racial terms.

Physical features are not only used to exclude the A-Js from racialised notions of Japaneseness but they are also linked to particular language ideologies. Due to the linguistic version of *Nihonjinron* (Stanlaw, 2004), there is an assumption that Japan is not only racially homogenous but also linguistically homogenous and that Japanese is only spoken by racially 'pure' Japanese people (Stanlaw, 2004; Gottlieb, 2005; Gottlieb, 2012). The assumption is that those who do not look racially Japanese cannot speak Japanese proficiently. Conversely, if an individual looks Japanese-Japanese the assumption is s/he cannot speak English.

4.3 The language and 'race' equation

The language and 'race' equation would seem to be applied to the Anglo-Japanese as when they speak Japanese in Japan they are met with a feeling of disbelief by those whom they encounter¹⁵¹. This is evidenced by Yukiko (A-J1 female, aged 16) who remarked:

¹⁵⁰ However, people he meets in London now think he looks Chinese.

¹⁵¹ An illustration of this can be seen in this video clip: You May Say This Is Just A Stereotype, But This Actually Happens A Lot In Japan

they ['Japanese people'] are they are like oh my god but obviously the people that I know or my relatives they're like don't really think about it but people I meet for the first time like that they are really surprised [that she can speak Japanese] (interview, 21.04.2011)

The Japanese people Yukiko meets for the first time may be surprised that she can speak Japanese because according to the *Nihonjinron* ideology, her ambiguous racial features would suggest that she cannot emulate the 'pure' Japanese in linguistic terms (Befu, 2009). Yukiko is aware of this linguistic distinction so she likes to speak in Japanese to confuse those she encounters in her daily life:

it's really funny coz when me and my friend who is also like half Japanese half English we went to a store in Japan and they couldn't like work out our nationality [because they were speaking in English] and we thought it would be funny to speak to them in fluent Japanese so they got really like surprised (interview, 21.04.2011)

Carl (A-J1 male, aged 18) also likes to deliberately confuse those he encounters by suddenly speaking in Japanese:

they [Japanese-Japanese people] think I'm a foreigner they think I walk into a shop it's really funny actually I love doing it I I walk into a shop pretending I'm a clueless foreigner and I get to the till and I speak perfect fluent Japanese and the look on their faces so yeah but it's it's most people if they're not my family or friends of my family they'll assume I can't speak Japanese (interview, 06.07.2011)

People could be surprised by his Japanese linguistic proficiency because he is positioned as a 'foreigner' so the assumption is that he cannot speak Japanese. In addition, he stays in what he refers to as 'a rural town' called Oita which is in the southern island of Kyushu where the majority of residents are seemingly Japanese.

Albert (A-J1 male, aged 14) also encountered a feeling of amazement due to his Japanese language ability when attending a mainstream middle school in Nagoya, Japan as he said:

Albert: they knew that I was half but they didn't think I'd speak Japanese

CL: oh right yeah yeah so were they shocked?

Albert: yeah when I answered back in Japanese (interview, 25.06.2011)

These examples highlight that in Japan 'race' is still equated with language and on this basis it is assumed that the A-Js cannot speak Japanese proficiently. When the A-Js have a high level of Japanese language proficiency, it appears to shock those with whom they come into contact on a daily basis. This is because popular stereotypes linking racial features to language proficiency would still seem to be pervasive in parts of Japan outside Tokyo. Being positioned as Non-Japanese the A-Js are calling into question linguistic boundaries as McVeigh states:

Because being Japanese is so tightly tied to national and racial identities, non-Japanese who emit signs of Japaneseness (i.e. use the Japanese language) are calling into question linguistic boundaries; they are challenging what are often regarded as immutable and essentialist identities (McVeigh, 2002a, p. 124).

<http://9gag.tv/p/aVnjxB/but-we-re-speaking-japanese-%E6%97%A5%E6%9C%AC%E8%AA%9E%E5%96%8B-%E3%82%8B-%E3%81%A0%E3%81%91?ref=fbl9> [Accessed 07.07.2014]. This video clip highlights how racial features affect how a person is perceived in terms of Japanese language proficiency in Japan.

Conversely, the opposite would seem to be true for the British Based Japanese-Japanese (BBJ-J) when they are visiting Japan. Due to the 'race' equals language equation it is often assumed that if a person is racially Japanese s/he cannot speak English proficiently as is evidenced by Sho (BBJ-J male, aged 15):

they [Japanese people in Japan] just see me as a normal Japanese person and when I speak English to my brother sometimes in like *konbini*¹⁵² or something they just like what is this person and they just like stare at me for 10 seconds yeah (interview, 20.05.2011).

When in Japan, Sho stays in Shizuoka which he says is about 'four hours from Tokyo near Mt. Fuji' (*ibid.*). When Sho is in Shizuoka with his brother, Taka, they quite naturally switch to English when they are in public spaces. The Japanese they encounter are momentarily shocked that Sho and Taka are racially Japanese but they routinely converse in fluent English. This is because in their minds being racially Japanese does not easily equate with English language proficiency and such a notion is disrupted by the presence of the BBJ-Js in Japan which is a form of racism in reverse.

All the above highlight racialised thinking in contemporary Japan stemming from the notion of uni-raciality. This *Nihonjinron*-type thinking could stem from the notion of a form of racial segregation which is overtly manifested in parts of Japan. It would seem to be initiated by central government, be enforced in law and filter down to the minds of individuals.

4.4 Racial segregation

A notion of racial segregation would seem to be instigated by central government. This is exemplified by Ayako Sono's recent comments in her column entitled 'Let Them In - But Keep a Distance' which was published in *Sankei*, a conservative daily newspaper. Sono, who was a former adviser to Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and who was part of a recent panel on education reform (*Economist*, 2015), wrote that apartheid would be a good model for Japan's immigration policy (Umekawa, 2015). This was because she believed that 'South Africa's former policies of racial segregation had been good for whites, Asians and Africans' (*ibid.*). She admitted that Japan needs to accept more foreign workers, but they should be made to live separately from the Japanese (*ibid.*). Although her comments caused a stir in South Africa and the ambassador to Japan called them 'scandalous', the Japanese media did not comment on this issue (*Economist*, 2015).

¹⁵² *Konbini* is a convenience store such as 7-Eleven.

There are other discriminatory practices still taking place in all walks of Japanese life which are aimed at 'foreigners' living in Japan:

Many landlords in Japan state up front that they will not rent to foreigners. Want a loan? Many realtors also say flat-out no to foreigners, and as long as there is no contract signed, there is generally nothing legally you can do. Want to get a job as a tenured academic in Japan's universities? Too bad - very often those jobs are explicitly not open to foreigners. Want to become a volunteer firefighter, a public-sector food preparer, a family court mediator or a manager in the bureaucracy? Sorry, citizens only. The same goes for many job opportunities at "Hello Work", the government job placement agency for Japan's unemployed. If you actually apply there, you will find many job listings have an unofficial nationality clause - simply because Japanese bosses presume no foreigner can speak Japanese, or their clients won't want to deal with a foreigner¹⁵³ (Fic, 2012).

Such discriminatory practices can flourish because as previously stated in Japan racism is yet to be made illegal (Solidarity Network with Migrants Japan, 2007; Burgess, 2007; Arudou, 2013a).

So entrenched is the notion of racial purity in Japan, that there are cases whereby Non-Japanese are banned from participating in traditional Japanese practices. One such case is that of bathing in an *onsen* (hot spring) (cf. chapter 7) which was evidenced by White American Dr Debito Arudou. Even though he has acquired Japanese citizenship, is married to a Japanese national and has two daughters, he as well as others in his party were denied entry to an *onsen* due to their foreign appearances. This vividly exemplifies the power of the racial idiom in Japan and the difficulty in trying to implement it in a contemporary Japanese context:

Shortly after I had lived in Japan for about a decade, married a Japanese, had children, and bought a house near Sapporo, I got a big surprise. I found out in 1999 that there were public hot springs, *onsen* in Japanese, in a nearby city called Otaru that had "Japanese Only" signs up. My friends and I took our families there for a bath. Management there allowed the people who "looked Japanese" to enter but barred those who "looked foreign" - meaning me, my German friend Olaf, another American friend, and one of my daughters. She looked "more foreign" than her older sibling, who was "safe" because she looked more like her Japanese mother. However, they let in a Chinese member of our group because she looked "Japanese enough". Then they kicked her out when she revealed herself as foreign. It was a case study in racial discrimination, and it eventually became a court case that went all the way to the Japanese Supreme Court (Fic, 2012, January 12).

The management at *Yunohana* Hot Spring allegedly banned all those in White American Debito Arudou's party who were not considered to look racially Japanese. This included himself, his German and American friends but only one of his daughters, the one who resembled him. The daughter who resembled his Japanese wife gained entry as did a Chinese female who was conceived as being racially 'pure' Japanese. The Chinese female was later asked to leave when it materialised that she was not 'pure' Japanese most probably because she was not a proficient Japanese speaker. Arudou and his daughter were refused entry in spite of the fact that they are legally Japanese citizens.

This example clearly illustrates that *Nihonjinron* racialised ideology would appear to be so deeply ingrained in the minds of certain individuals that it is more powerful than an individual's legal

¹⁵³ These claims made by Arudou (2006) are further substantiated in the publication *Living Together with Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in Japan: NGO Policy Proposals* by Solidarity Network with Migrants Japan (2007).

rights (Befu, 2009). In this example the racial segregation is made explicit as there were 'Japanese only' signs on display. This example at a hot spring¹⁵⁴ epitomises Japanese stereotypical racialised thinking linked to the widely circulating ideology that Japan belongs to the racially 'pure' Japanese.

As the belief in racial segregation would seem to exist in Japan, it would seem quite natural for such a belief to have been transposed onto British soil within the Japanese community in London. The two London *Bunkō* (Japanese library groups) seemed to share a belief in racial segregation (see chapter 3). The two *Bunkō* were established in 1986 and there are 22 in England (ICBA, 2011). They form part of the International Children's Bunkō Association (ICBA), and ICBA believes that:

it is very important for children in British/Foreign education to maintain their Japanese (mother tongue) language skills and cultural identity, if they are to become International Children. IC Bunkō aim to create an atmosphere in which Japanese children feel 'at home' and can enjoy speaking Japanese to other adults and children whilst taking part in interesting activities (ICBA, 2011).

I noticed that at *Bunkō* the 'pure' Japanese were unofficially segregated from the 'impure' Japanese in the area of London in which we resided. Having attended *Momo Bunkō* with my older son for approximately 2 years and *Daikon Bunkō* with my younger son for roughly the same amount of time I met many Japanese families who were in attendance. One Japanese mother told me that the former was for the Sojourner Japanese-Japanese (SJ-J) as opposed to the Japanese of Mixed-Ethnicities (JM-E) for whom the latter *Bunkō* was intended. During the 4 years I attended the two *Bunkō* I noticed that this seemed to be true. I have since asked other Japanese mothers about the difference between the two *Bunkō* and my thoughts have been confirmed.

This racial segregation would seem to be an unwritten rule of which the Japanese mothers would seem to be aware. This suggests that the widely circulating ideology of racially 'pure' Japanese based on physical appearance is a symbolic boundary marker which is used to demarcate those attending *Bunkō*. My older son and I were granted the status of 'honorary Japanese' as we were allowed to flout this racialised boundary. Although I am White British and he is A-J1, we could attend *Momo Bunkō* because we had made friends with many SJ-Js who were also in attendance. My younger son, on the other hand, attended the correct *Bunkō*, *Daikon Bunkō*, which was designated for the racially 'impure' Japanese. But again as stated in chapter 3 I was the only White British mother in attendance all the others were seemingly Japanese.

¹⁵⁴ This is in contrast to the experience of Bill White British father with two A-J children, who could gain entry into an *onsen* in Japan (field notes 11.12.2010).

Yukiko (A-J1 female, aged 16) told me that she had attended *Daikon Bunkō*. Although this *Bunkō* is generally for preschool children, she stayed until she was 10 so she could remember this experience. She told me that she initially enjoyed borrowing books but when she was older she just went there to meet her Japanese speaking friends. However, what is significant is that her Japanese speaking friends would have been Japanese of Mixed-Ethnicities (JM-Es) as she had attended *Daikon Bunkō*. However, at *Daikon Bunkō* I noticed that the young people were engaging with the same traditional Japanese practices and objects as I had also witnessed at *Momo Bunkō* where the Japanese seemed to be in the majority. This meant that the JM-Es were being inculcated with official notions of Japaneseness similar to the 'pure' Japanese. The existence of the JM-Es including the A-Js at *Daikon Bunkō* in a contemporary London context would seem to disrupt the notion of racial homogeneity as although they are not racially 'pure' Japanese, they are nevertheless seemingly engaging with traditional Japanese artefacts and practices through the Japanese medium from a young age albeit in the company of other JM-Es.

At *Hoshūkō* another version of racial segregation would seem to exist through the separation of the *kokugo* (Japanese for native speakers) and *nihongo* (Japanese for non-native speakers) curriculums (see chapter 5). The implication here is that, as is commonplace in Japan, the 'pure' Japanese should learn the national language of Japan whereas those who are not 'pure' Japanese should learn a simplified version of Japanese because the *kokugo* curriculum is considered to be too difficult for them. This creates a sort of 'us' and 'them' approach to learning Japanese (Moorehead, 2013) which could be seen as a form of 'linguistic apartheid' (Nagata, 1991, in Gottlieb, 2005, p. 53). However, this linguistic separation has not been very successful at the London *Hoshūkō* as there is only one *nihongo* class for each year group on only one site so many of the so-called 'impure Japanese' are being inculcated with the *kokugo* curriculum (see chapter 5).

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the existence of the Anglo-Japanese highlight the limitations of the essentialist messages implied within the notion of uni-raciality that exists in both Britain and in Japan. With the application of the racial idiom the A-Js' claims to Japaneseness appear to be marked or difficult to anticipate in both countries. In Britain many of the A-Js in my research are positioned as Chinese whereas in Japan they are positioned as 'foreign', half-Japanese/half-American or Non-Japanese. If their Japaneseness is acknowledged in terms of language

proficiency in Japan, it is met with a feeling of sheer disbelief (cf. Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). This suggests that when the racial idiom is applied, the A-Js are generally positioned as Non-Japanese even though they would seem to be able to speak Japanese proficiently. Due to the essentialist ideology that still exists in Japan, Japan as a government or society seems unable to grant the A-Js who do not look racially 'pure' Japanese insider status (Arudou, 2013d). This is because such an essentialist ideology continues

to be embraced by a number of influential politicians and intellectuals, and forms the ideological basis of their political stance. It clings to the idea that there are 'pure' Japanese and non-pure Japanese, who are ranked accordingly. These definitions emphasise the homogeneity of Japan in a genetic and cultural sense, ignoring the reality of heterogeneity, and end up being xenophobic, patronising, and discriminating against those who are not 'pure'. At the same time they assert a claim that Japan belongs properly only to 'pure' Japanese, excluding those who do not fit its narrowest definition. Those xenophobic definitions foster a narrow, ethnocentric nationalism [...]. They foster, for instance, an environment in which mixed-blood Japanese are looked down on (Befu, 2009, p. 35).

Although in European academic circles the unqualified notion of race has been discredited and there is a belief that racial boundaries are declining in significance, I have shown that for many of the A-Js the racial idiom is still salient in twenty-first century Britain. This reinforces the value of my approach of focusing on ethnicities as participation and practices rather than on the idiom of biological 'race' as I argue that what the A-Js do is more salient to their ethnicities than what they look like. This is because although the A-Js can never emulate the 'pure' Japanese in racial terms, in cultural and linguistic terms they can, which is evidenced in chapters 5, 6 and 7. In the next chapter, therefore, I will demonstrate that the racial idiom is an unreliable marker of a young person's Japanese language proficiency at the London *Hoshūkō*.

Chapter 5 Language and literacy practices at *Hoshūkō*

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will argue that the racial idiom can no longer be relied upon to determine the extent of the young peoples' Japanese language proficiency at the London *Hoshūkō*. This is because through the A-Js' intense participation in authentic Japanese language and literacy practices over a prolonged period of time, they would seem to destabilise the *Nihonjinron* belief that only the racially 'pure' Japanese in Japan can master the intricacies of the Japanese language. My aim is not to criticise *Hoshūkō*'s educational practices *per se* but to merely highlight the intensity of the A-Js participation in authentic Japanese language and literacy practices within the *kokugo* (Japanese national language) curriculum over a prolonged period of time at the London *Hoshūkō*. This is because their participation in such practices in twenty-first century London could not have been further from the imagination of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) when *Hoshūkō* was first established in 1965 (see chapter 2).

The London *Hoshūkō* tries to replicate the same *kokugo* (Japanese national language) curriculum as is inculcated in compulsory state education in Japan with little regard for the specificities of the contemporary London context. *Hoshūkō*, as with other other UK based complementary schools, explicitly aims at traditional cultural reproduction of an essentialist kind. The *kokugo* curriculum was only ever conceived for the racially 'pure' Japanese so the underlying expectation is that those who are not racially 'pure' Japanese, including the A-Js, cannot master the intricacies of Japanese language and literacy practices. The inculcation of the same Japanese language and literacy practices at *Hoshūkō* as in Japan would, on the surface of it, seem problematic in a contemporary London setting partly because there has been a demographic shift in the local population: the Sojourner Japanese-Japanese (SJ-J), for whom *Hoshūkō* was conceived, are in decline and the Anglo-Japanese with Japanese language proficiency (A-J1), for whom *Hoshūkō* would be deemed unsuitable, are on the increase (see chapter 3). In this chapter I am going to outline how a notion of uni-raciality influences language and literacy practices at the London *Hoshūkō*. Then, I will investigate how the young people attending *Hoshūkō*, in terms of my nuanced ethnic formations (see section 3.3) cope with the attempt to inculcate them with these Japanese language and literacy practices. The chapter will show that some assumptions can be

made about how different types of Japan-connected young people manage this situation but it is not possible to push these assumptions too far.

Before drawing upon my research data, I will briefly focus on state education in Japan in an attempt to highlight the extent to which the *Nihonjinron*-type ideological narrative of uni-raciality underpins the *kokugo* (Japanese national language) curriculum in Japan. This is because as previously stated it is state education in Japan which *Hoshūkō* tries to replicate.

5.2 Language, literacy and a notion of uni-raciality

Schools in Japan, as in many other countries, are socialising channels which are used to promote homogeneity (Oguma, 2002). In the case of Japan education is underpinned by the Fundamental Law of Education which 'is the core legal foundation for Japan's education system' and in Abe's revised version of this law in 2006¹⁵⁵, references to nation and patriotism are extremely rigid (Penney, 2013). This is evident in statements such as education should aim to "give students pride in being born Japanese" (Penney, 2013). Such a statement would seem to highlight the biological nature of being Japanese and the exclusionary nature of the education system for the many Non-Japanese children and children of mixed ethnicities in schools in Japan (*ibid.*), let alone for the A-Js attending the London *Hoshūkō*.

The current education system is highly centralised and dominated by the policies of the national government (Lebowitch and McNeill, 2007; Sugimoto, 2014) through the government appointed ministry, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). MEXT, formerly known as *Monbushō*, was established in 1871 and its main purpose 'was the unification and centralization of the education system, functions that are still in operation today (McVeigh, 2014, p. 71). Although education policy is developed at three levels in Japan: national, prefectural and municipal, MEXT acts as the supervising body (Sato and Doerr, 2014). This enables MEXT¹⁵⁶ to exert its powerful political and ideological stance on education (Sugimoto, 2010). Such a stance is maintained in many ways including the implementation of a standard *kokugo* (Japanese national language) curriculum, its policy on the use of *kanji* (written script originating from Chinese) for general use (*jōyō kanji hyō*) and its control of textbooks (*kyōkasho*).

¹⁵⁵ These changes in the Fundamental Law of Education would seem to have paved the way for a more 'back to basics' approach to education which is in contrast to the *yutori-kyōiku*, the relatively more relaxed system of education of 2002, (Yoshifumi, 2008). The number of hours dedicated to Japanese (*kokugo*) teaching increased from 272 in 2002 to 306 in 2012 (Fish, 2012).

¹⁵⁶ Other government-authorised sites related to the national language which have links with MEXT include the National Language Research Institute, which is linked to the Agency for Cultural Affairs and the National Institute of Japanese Literature (McVeigh, 2002a).

The Japanese education system is controlled by MEXT in order to standardise language and literacy practices throughout Japan (Sugimoto, 2010; Kubota, 2014). However, underpinning this would seem to be an attempt to promote unification and to counteract diversification (Sugimoto, 2010) by essentialising the boundaries around Japanese language and literacy practices.

MEXT has 'monopolistic power over every facet of education' (Ota, 1995, p. 258) of which the *kokugo* curriculum is central (McVeigh, 2002a, p. 125). This is because:

the rules of 'good' Japanese are taught through the classrooms of the nation by teachers working to syllabi based on language policy documents: the script policies and the curriculum guidelines for the teaching of the national language (Gottlieb, 2012, p. 4).

One of the primary missions of Japanese schools is to inculcate the Japanese *kokugo* curriculum as it is one of the core subjects that students need to master for examinations (McVeigh, 2002a, p. 125). Such mastery is only really aimed at the racially 'pure' Japanese living in Japan so underpinning the curriculum is the hegemonic belief that the Japanese live in a uniquely mono-racial, mono-cultural, mono-lingual Japan. This suggests that the A-Js are not only engaging with the same *kokugo* curriculum as the Japanese in Japan, but they are also being inadvertently inculcated with the same ideological narrative of uni-raciality.

5.3 The *kokugo* curriculum and the London *Hoshūkō*

The *kokugo* curriculum, which the London *Hoshūkō* attempts to implement, was first implemented in the primary school curriculum in Japan in August 1900 (Sato, 2014). Its aim was to teach a model version of the Japanese national language (*ibid.*), the Tokyo dialect, as the standard language variety based on the model of one nation, one language (Doerr and Lee, 2009; Doerr, 2014; Kubota, 2014). The *kokugo* curriculum had strong links with the nation building of Japan (Doerr and Lee, 2009; Doerr, 2014; Segawa, 2014, p. 175). However, in the twenty-first century its aim would still seem to be to inculcate the 'pure' Japanese with not only a normative 'standard language and orthography' (Sato, 2014, p. 106) but also an essentialist view of standard Japanese culture (Kubota, 2014, p. 24) through an emphasis on the uniqueness of Japanese language, literacy and cultural practices (Benjamin, 1997; Kubota 2014).

Such a curriculum would seem to espouse Japanese conservative values and beliefs as it is implemented by policymakers (Sato, 2014, p. 109) who emphasise a 'respect for traditions and culture' as laid down by the revised Fundamental Law of Education (Kubota, 2014, p. 24). 'Traditions and culture' here would seem to imply Japanese cultural traditions harking back to a

distant past to instil the Japanese young people with a sense of security in the idea that Japaneseness in the *Nihonjinron*-sense of the word has existed for a very long time.

In the *kokugo* curriculum there is a strong emphasis on correct and polite Japanese language and practices (see chapter 6), but there is an even stronger emphasis on acquiring literacy practices which due to their perceived complexity are constructed as being exclusive to outsiders, like the A-Js.

5.3.1 The acquisition of Japanese literacy practices at *Hoshūkō*

At the London *Hoshūkō*, as in Japan, the yardstick for success for language, literacy, and cultural proficiency are the standard forms, which through their repeated use in the *kokugo* curriculum have been normalised (Sato, 2014). The learning of *kanji* (Chinese characters) is central to the *kokugo* curriculum which as previously stated is regulated by MEXT (Gottlieb, 2012). Japanese *Kanji* characters are considered to be unique to Japan and according to conservative beliefs they 'are the venerated icons of Japan's writing system' (Gottlieb, 2012, p. 98). What is more it is the perceived complexity of the Japanese writing system which would seem to act as a boundary preventing outsiders from acquiring even rudimentary literacy practices in Japan (Coulmas, 1999; Gottlieb, 2005).

The Japanese writing system contains three scripts: *hiragana* (phonetic script for writing particles, suffices and adverbs); *katakana*¹⁵⁷ (phonetic script mainly for writing words of foreign origin) and *kanji* (logographic script for writing nouns, adjectives and stems of verbs) (Gottlieb, 2005). The 46 hiragana and the 46 katakana are relatively easy to learn as there is a strong 'sound-to-symbol' correlation (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 81). It is the 1, 945¹⁵⁸ most commonly occurring *kanji* (*jōyō kanji hyō*) as regulated by MEXT (Gottlieb, 2005; Gottlieb, 2012) which would seem to make Japanese a relatively complex language to master (Gottlieb, 2005; Clarke, 2009). It takes until the end of nine years of compulsory education in Japan to teach the required amount of *kanji* (Gottlieb, 2012, p. 98) the mastery of which requires 'a long, hard, grind at school' (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 92) even for the racially 'pure Japanese. This supports the commonly held belief that the Japanese language is difficult enough to master for the racially 'pure' Japanese in Japan (Gottlieb, 2005) let alone for outsiders.

¹⁵⁷ The *Nihonjinron* ideology would seem to be embedded in the use of the angular *katakana* for foreign words as it would seem to be a symbolic orthographic boundary clearly demarcating Japanese words and foreign words (see section 7.3.6).

¹⁵⁸ On 30 November 2010 this figure was increased to 2,136 (Gottlieb, 2012, p. 119).

It is generally believed that the teaching and learning of *kanji* is more difficult at the London *Hoshūkō* than it is for those in mainstream state education in Japan (Aizawa, 1999a; Aizawa, 1999b; Furiya-Wise, 1999) for three main reasons. The first reason is there are the far fewer class contact hours (approximately 80 hours a year) on a Saturday morning at *Hoshūkō* than in Japanese state education to teach approximately 1,000 *kanji* in primary school (*shōgaku*) and 945 in middle school (*chūgaku*) (Aizawa, 1999b). MEXT's curriculum guidelines for the teaching of *kanji* literacy in Japan stipulated that in the first year of primary school (*shōgaku*) 272 hours were allocated to *kokugo* (Gottlieb, 2005). Although this figure decreased in subsequent years, the amount of hours was still relatively high: in year six it was 175, and in the first year of middle school (*chūgaku*) it was 140 hours (*ibid.*).

As there are so few class contact hours at *Hoshūkō*, a large amount of homework is set each week, as Furuya-Wise (1999, p. 103) stresses, '[t]o keep up with their practice of *Kanji*, their reading comprehension and writing of sentences in the textbooks, pupils are expected to learn at home [...]'. This can be particularly problematic for those at *Hoshūkō* because they also have to contend with the homework from their mainstream school, and the many extra-curricular activities in which they also participate (Aizawa, 1999b). The third reason for the difficulty of learning Japanese for those attending the London *Hoshūkō* is that they have far less exposure to written Japanese in their everyday lives in Britain than they would have in Japan (see Li Wei and Wu, 2010).

However, in the minds of MEXT, all the above reasons were only considered applicable to the racially 'pure' Japanese because it was considered unlikely that the Anglo-Japanese could cope with the intensive version of the *kokugo* curriculum at the London *Hoshūkō*. It was believed that due to the influence of their Anglo parent, English would be the *de facto* language in the home environment so the A-Js would not have enough exposure to the Japanese language on a daily basis to manage at *Hoshūkō* (Aizawa, 1999a). Therefore, as in Japan, remedial Japanese classes (*nihongo*) were mainly established for them and other Non-Japanese learners (Aizawa, 1999a) (see section 5.4.2).

In light of the above, there would appear to be a modicum of truth in the commonsense *Nihonjinron* rhetoric that to master Japanese language and literacy practices it is necessary to live in Japan and have two Japanese parents. As Coulmas (1999, p. 408) points out, 'Japan's literary

culture is distinctive and very elaborate, providing the notion of linguistic uniqueness with a measure of plausibility'. After all, who other than the racially 'pure' Japanese living in Japan with two Japanese parents would be able to cope with the rigors of engaging with *kanji*? However, the main thrust of my argument is that, contrary to the ideological narrative of uni-raciality, many A-Js have been actively participating in authentic Japanese language and literacy practices over a considerable period of time at the London *Hoshūkō*.

In order to help the teachers to cover the *kokugo* curriculum in the small number of hours available, government approved textbooks (*Kyōkasho*) are provided free of charge by MEXT to all those studying *kokugo* at *Hoshūkō*¹⁵⁹ (Aizawa, 1998a). However, as previously stated, it is through MEXT's control of the school textbooks that it has the power to exert its political and ideological influence on education.

5.3.1.1 *Kyōkasho* (school textbooks)

The school textbooks used at the London *Hoshūkō*, as in Japan, are structurally graded to provide Japanese literary texts with the required amount of *kanji* (Furuya-Wise, 1999). For example, for children in year 3 (8–9 years old) of primary school, six to seven new *kanji* are introduced a week (*ibid.*). This means that the teachers at the London *Hoshūkō*:

are required to complete the structurally graded textbooks for each age level in one year, going through them chapter by chapter without missing important content, so at the end of the school year the children can be promoted to classes of the same level as full-time schools in Japan (*ibid.*, p. 103).

Mika (*Hoshūkō* teacher) believes that the textbooks are highly beneficial as they contain a wide variety of reading material as she told me:

I think that's [textbooks] excellent actually yeah because um the text book we're using is um permitted by MEXT the Ministry of Education [...] from Japan so quite good selection you know a lot of the novels are from some kinds of various fields like um a poem a essay *haiku* [unrhymed verse] *tanka* [short poem] and some critics a lot of genres so very very good text book (Interview, 12.12.2010).

Implementing the rigid *kokugo* curriculum in the time available is 'one of the constant problems for teachers' at the London *Hoshūkō* (Aizawa, 1999a, p. 28) so according to Mika the use of the authentic Japanese textbooks would seem to make it less problematic. Masako (*Hoshūkō* teacher) would seem to agree with Mika as she said that the textbooks save a lot of time and effort for the teachers and make it easier for them to cover the *kokugo* curriculum (interview, 06.11.2010). Both Masako and Mika are senior school teachers and it is in senior school where Chinese classics such as, Confucius and Tang poetry are inculcated (Aizawa, 1999, p. 28). This could be why it is easier for these teachers to use the *kyōkasho* provided by MEXT rather than

¹⁵⁹ They also receive *kanji* workbooks (see figure 8).

producing their own materials. What is significant for the A-Js, however, is that due to the strict adherence to the national *kokugo* curriculum and the use of government-prescribed textbooks, they have an opportunity to engage with the same authentic Japanese reading material as the Japanese young people in Japan.

Kenta (*Hoshūkō* teacher), on the other hand, is critical of the use of government-prescribed textbooks. He believes that the content of such textbooks is unsuitable for those studying Japanese in a contemporary London context as was evidenced by an A-J female in his class. He said:

of course that book's designed for Japanese people living in Japan so for example the next topic we're going to read about was war time in that case Japanese people are described as victims of atomic bomb [...] so it is never questioned whether students reading this text book are not Japanese or mixed people last year I had a big problem with this text coz some mixed girl mixed student between Japanese and English is not necessarily on Japanese side in many ways[...] the students don't have a sympathy for the line of argument of the text [...] (interview, 11.01.2010).

According to Kenta the textbooks are aimed at the 'pure' Japanese permanently resident in Japan and they were never intended to be used by Anglo-Japanese young people outside Japan in a contemporary London context. So they do little to counteract diversity in a British context. A sensitive topic relating to the dropping of the atomic bomb in World War II was questioned by one particular A-J1 female in Kenta's class.

This Anglo-Japanese female could have questioned the version of this historical event in the *kokugo* textbook at *Hoshūkō* because it could be different from the version she is learning at her mainstream school and from her White British parent. As these textbooks are identical to those used in Japan, they are overseen by MEXT (Sugimoto, 2010; Koide, 2014). This means that the wording in the textbooks can be subject to modification which according to Koide, (2014) is a form of 'state censorship'. Although textbook '[p]ublishers who have submitted textbooks for review have the right to submit counterarguments in writing, [...] this often results in outright rejection of the text, so in practice, publishers have no option but to comply' (Koide, 2014). Many consider that such textbook modification could be seen as an attempt to homogenise the opinions of the Japanese in line with those of the policy makers as Sugimoto highlights:

[T]he Ministry's textbook inspectors have sought to censor descriptions of Japanese atrocities during World War II, depictions of political dissent and social movements against the government, and discussion of individual rights and choices. They have tried to sway the writers towards emphasizing nationalism and patriotism, submission and obedience to social order, and duties and obligations to society (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 140).

According to Okano and Tsuchiya (1999, p. 6) textbook modification is used to legitimate the version of knowledge found in the textbooks as 'true' and 'neutral' which suggests that no one will question the line of reasoning. It could be argued that in Japanese schools, as in schools in

many countries, the version of knowledge, values and world view are those held by the dominate groups of society (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 9). In the case of Japan it would seem to be the dominant ideology of *Nihonjinron* as espoused by Abe and his cabinet. This could be why Yamazumi (1995, p. 241) believes that textbook modification could be seen as 'one part of a well-orchestrated, systematic plan to push the country to the right' which Abe and his ultranationalist cabinet would appear to be strengthening (Lebowitch and McNeill, 2007). However, what is significant is that although Kenta believes the content of the Japanese textbooks to be unsuitable for the A-J1s at the London *Hoshūkō*, they offer them authentic Japanese reading material. What is more through their engagement with such material the A-J1s can gain an *emic* perspective on a controversial Japanese historical event and an insight into Japanese reasoning.

Through the use of the *kokugo* textbooks the A-Js are also being inculcated with an image of Japan as racially, linguistically and culturally homogenous. The children represented in government textbooks tend to be totally racially Japanese: they are 'black-haired and dark-eyed', and speak Japanese seemingly fluently (Tsuneyoshi, 2011, p. 107). The Japanese textbooks are all in standardised Japanese based on a 'fictional' Tokyo dialect (Kubota, 2014, p. 21). Kubota explains that such standardisation of language constructs linguistic norms for certain social categories so the racially 'pure' Japanese speaking the Tokyo dialect has been normalised. The uniqueness of the Japanese language is highlighted through an emphasis on certain linguistic forms. An example of such is Japanese honorifics (see chapter 6) which are supported by the idea that honorific language originates 'from a delicate and respectful mindset toward others which is unique to the Japanese national characteristics' (*ibid.* p. 22). This suggests that 'the national character is used to explain the existence of honorifics and it constructs an image about language' (*ibid.*). Kubota (2014, p. 22) believes that through the process of language standardisation 'language is constructed as an essentialized and fictional entity'. The images in the government-prescribed textbooks together with the linguistic elements have been standardised and normalised which suggests that rather than reflecting reality they would appear to be helping to construct an essentialist understanding of Japaneseness as set out in the ideological narrative of *Nihonjinron* (*ibid.*).

Kokugo textbooks are also accompanied by teachers' manuals which shape what students learn, what teachers teach and how they teach it (Sato, 2014). These textbooks together with the accompanying teachers' manuals are used to inculcate Japanese pupils irrespective of where

they live in Japan with the same homogenised *kokugo* curriculum, which intricately links language, literacy and culture (*ibid.*). What I find remarkable is that the Anglo-Japanese young people in a contemporary London context outside Japan are also being inculcated with the same homogenised *kokugo* curriculum.

Due to the centrality of *kanji* in the *kokugo* curriculum at the London *Hoshūkō* as in Japan, not much time is dedicated to speaking in the classroom the emphasis is on reading, comprehension and writing (Aizawa, 1999a). Great emphasis is placed on the ability to read aloud at *Hoshūkō* as in Japan. This is because there is no sound-to-symbol correlation for *kanji* making it relatively difficult to read (Benjamin, 1997). In addition, according to Coulmas (2003) there are a possible 4,087 readings for the 1,945 *kanji* characters.

5.3.1.2 Ondoku (reading aloud)

In order to monitor the young peoples' reading ability, *ondoku* (reading aloud) either in unison or individually is used at the London *Hoshūkō* as in Japan (Benjamin, 1997; Gordenker, 2004). This seemingly traditional practice was used in Mika's classes at *Hoshūkō* which is evidenced below in my field notes:

The teacher hands out a sheet for 'ondoku' (reading aloud). Some of the pupils are reading and some of them are humming quietly [...]. The teacher reads the title and makes a comment about it. The teacher is sitting down. The young people are all sitting in a horse shoe layout. They all read together out loud. But Rodger is not reading. Then he joins in. Albert is writing something. The teacher says to Albert 'Don't write while reading' Albert yawns and says *hai* [yes] [...]. Then, they have to read individually starting with Timothy (A-J1 male) and going round the class. The teacher tells them to read quickly. Timothy struggles a bit with his sentence. However, they all manage to read. There is silence as they read. (field notes, 27.11.2010).

Some of the young people seem uninterested in this rather traditional practice. They are asserting their own agency as they are not fully participating. Rodger (A-J1 male, aged 14) is not reading and Albert (A-J1 male, aged 14) is writing. This could be because either the A-Js cannot perform *ondoku* due to the complexity of the script or they are reluctant to do so. However, when they were required to read aloud individually, they somehow all managed to do so. This demonstrates that the A-Js understand what they should be doing, even though they may not always appear willing to participate in such a practice. However, when prompted they would seem to be able to participate in this seemingly traditional Japanese reading practice.

Sugimoto (2010, p. 142) refers to 'reading aloud in unison' as 'psychological integration' which forms part of his notion of 'friendly authoritarianism' (see section 6.2). He believes it is a technique developed to 'promote psychological uniformity and cohesion among pupils' (*ibid.*). Sugimoto believes that this practice 'gives the class a sense of working together and makes it

difficult for any child to deviate from the set pattern' (ibid). However, although the A-Js in my research have been repeatedly engaging with such a practice, two of them did deviate from this set practice as was evidenced above.

In order to provide additional reading material to that of the textbooks, the young people are encouraged to borrow books from the library.

5.3.1.3 The library

The *Hoshūkō* library is run by the parents on a voluntary basis and it is a mainly Japanese speech community. The library is where the young people are introduced to a variety of what are considered to be age appropriate mono-lingual books published in Japanese in Japan. It is similar to a mainstream school library in Japan as Yuri (Japanese-Japanese mother of two A-J1 children) told me:

Hoshūkō is very sort of traditional also they have sort of wider range of children up to year 9 so we as a library we have to provide [Japanese books] even if they [pupils] don't read or they don't come to library [...] you know this book hasn't been taken out last three years but we have to have it (interview, 11.06.2010).

She also told me that in line with school libraries in Japan, the library has classical Japanese books. This is because Japanese and Chinese classics are first introduced in middle school in Japan and at *Hoshūkō* (Aizawa, 1999a). The library is not popular with the older children and according to Yuri some books have not been borrowed for several years. Taka (BBJ-J male, aged 13) would seem to support Yuri's observations as he told me he no longer goes to the library to borrow books:

I used to go there I stopped going there in year 5 because [...] there's like more hard books to read and I couldn't cope with it [...] and there was like I couldn't take those small books [*manga*] because they're for smaller year groups (Taka, BBJ-J male, aged 13, interview, 10.05.2011)

The young people can only borrow age-appropriate books so Taka cannot borrow the comic books (*manga*) he likes to read (interview, 10.05.2011). The books suitable for his age-group would seem to be too difficult for him due to the amount of *kanji* they contain. This suggests that in spite of the emphasis placed on reading books in *Hoshūkō*, some of the older children do not choose to engage in such a practice.

However, Albert (A-J1 male, aged 14) does borrow books from the library as his mother told me:

[...] he [Albert] comes probably once a month or twice a month [to the library] because I said I push him¹⁶⁰ to do it coz nowadays secondary school they only have one break time¹⁶¹ and they always want to do some sport [...] he loves history or sort of science so that why I try to push and encourage him some time you can see Albert poor guy the only one filling his name [on the library card] it's very unusual I know once they move

¹⁶⁰ Yuri would seem to be an example of a *kyoiku mama*. The notion of *Kyoiku mama* seems similar to the English term of a 'pushy parent'. The Japanese notion has become somewhat of a stereotype in Japan and it traditionally refers to Japanese women who are housewives and who seem to dedicate their entire lives to their children's academic achievement (Ito, 1993; Singleton, 1995).

¹⁶¹ In primary school they have two breaks.

to secondary you know *chugaku* they kind of stop coming (Yuri, Japanese mother of two A-J children, interview, 11.06.2010)

Yuri pointed out that Albert is somewhat remarkable because he likes to read age-specific Japanese books. Albert (A-J1 male, aged 14) verified this in the conversational interview. He told me that he likes to borrow 'biographies about sports people or history' from the library and he also said 'I don't really find reading that difficult' (interview, 25.06.2011).

What is significant is that Albert's reading proficiency would seem to be at a similar level to a Japanese young person permanently residing in Japan as he would seem to be able to read the appropriate age-specific books in Japanese. This is in contrast to Taka who does not seem able to do this. Albert and Taka would seem to disrupt the *Nihonjinron* notion that the Japanese are more proficient at Japanese literacy practices as Taka who is racially 'pure' Japanese would seem to have more difficulty reading age-appropriate Japanese books than Albert who is considered to be 'foreign' when he is in Japan (see chapter 3).

As well as reading much more time would seem to be devoted to writing by hand at the London *Hoshūkō* as is the case in schools in Japan (Gottlieb, 2012).

5.3.1.4 Illustrative writing practices

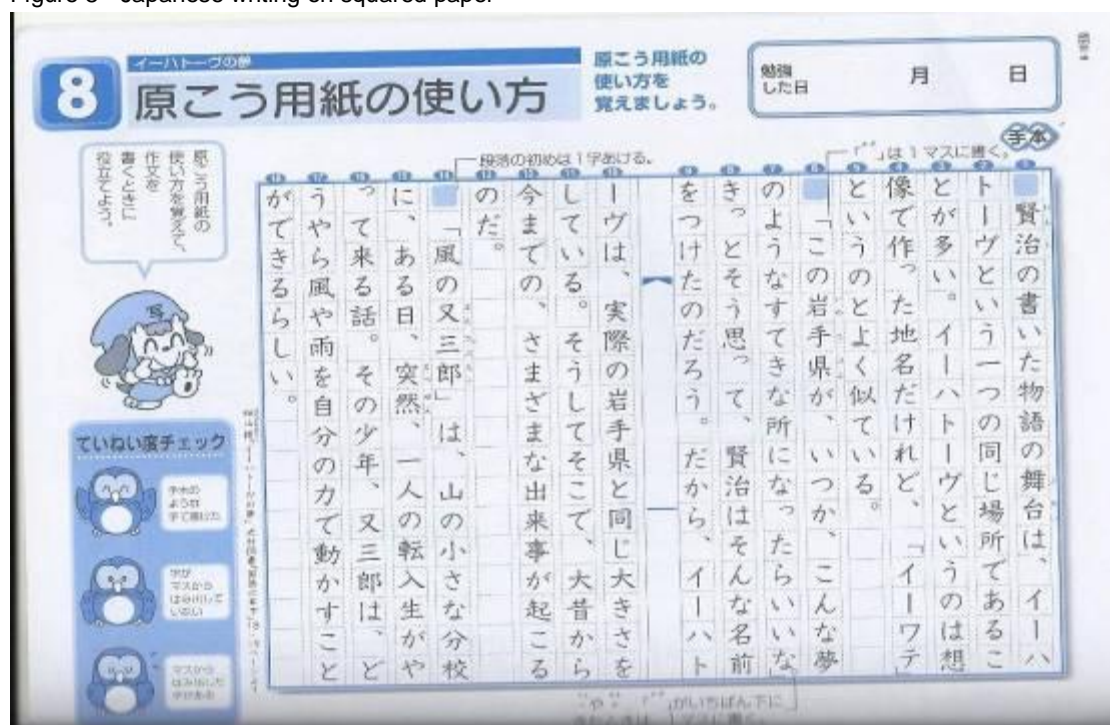
Hand written tasks at the London *Hoshūkō* include: written *kanji* tests; copying texts, and writing essays (*sakubun*). Writing Japanese *sakubun* (essay) would seem to be a mundane practice for the A-Js as they have been routinely engaging with it not only for homework but also in the classroom under timed conditions as is evidenced from my field notes:

They have to do a timed writing (*sakubun*). I think (though I'm not 100% sure) that they have to write about how they would feel if they were a certain object. The teacher suggests certain objects, for example, *megane* (glasses) Oyster card, i Pod (an A-J girl asks), *empitsu* (pencil). On hearing the word pencil, somebody throws a pencil across the room. The teacher talks in Japanese and she asks if they understand the '*tema*' (topic). The J-J boy who attends FCJ [Football Club Japan] suggests *toire* (toilet) and the others laugh. There is a lot of joking and laughter in English and Japanese and the young people do not seem to be taking the activity seriously. Then the students try to discuss the writing with each other but there is no time left; the teacher tells them to start writing. Albert is still whispering to the boy sitting next to him. [...] The teacher tells him off. After a lot of commotion they settle down to write their *sakubun*. An A-J girl suddenly stands up. She is looking for her earring. An A-J boy says in English 'Did it go into your bag or something?' After 20 minutes they hand in their *sakubun*. Everybody managed to write an essay – I'm quite surprised (Field notes, 27.11.2010).

What surprised me about this was that although the young people did not seem to be taking this activity seriously, which is evidenced by their 'playful naughtiness' (cf. Creese and Blackledge, 2010, p. 111; Francis *et al.*, 2010) they all managed to produce a *sakubun* within the allotted time. This suggests that the A-Js on this occasion understood exactly what was required when writing a *sakubun* and they were able to perform this task in class under timed conditions even though they seemed reluctant to do so.

Constant engagement with Japanese *sakubun* means that the A-Js are familiar with the many Japanese writing conventions. Squared paper¹⁶² is used and Japanese is written vertically from right to left (see figure 8) using a pencil. There are no blank boxes left between words only between paragraphs (see figure 8, lines, 5, 13 and 18). The box within which a character is written is divided into four quadrants and each character must be the same proportions of length and curve (Benjamin, 1997). Japanese punctuation marks and small symbols (っ) are placed within a single box in the right-hand upper quadrant. The Japanese full stop is a hollow circle 。 (see figure 8, line 3) and single quotation marks 「 」 (see figure 8, line 4).

Figure 8 - Japanese writing on squared paper



Source: A year 6 primary school *kanji* workbook (*kanji* skills)

*Furigana*¹⁶³ is usually written using small *hiragana* to the right of the *kanji* (see figure 8, line 1). っ doubles the sound of the following consonant (see figure 8, line 16) and — indicates a long vowel sound when using *katakana* (see figure 8, line 1). The title of the *sakubun* is indented and it is usually written on the first line. Then on the second line the family name followed by the given name of the young person is written. The composition starts from the third line and it is indented

¹⁶² Exercise books with lines (as opposed to boxes) running horizontally rather than vertically are also used.

¹⁶³ *Furigana* is a Japanese reading aid. It consists of small *hiragana* written next to the *kanji* or on top of the *kanji* to facilitate reading. Below is an example of *furigana*. There are two *kanji* for university (big + school) with the *furigana dai* written above the *kanji* for big and *gaku* written above the *kanji* for school. It is possible to read the *kanji* by looking at the *furigana*. However, writing the *furigana* next to the *kanji* is an extremely time-consuming process (see section 5.4.1.3).

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one box to illustrate the start of a paragraph. What is more, in line with Sugimoto's notion of friendly authoritarian (see chapter 6), there are some rather playful looking characters (on the left of the page) telling the young people what to do.

During my classroom observations I also noticed that great emphasis is placed upon writing the date in the traditional Japanese way.

5.3.1.5 The Japanese calendar

At the beginning of lessons the date using the emperor year system is emphasised. The teacher writes the date on the whiteboard says it out loud and tells the young people to write it in their notebooks (field notes, 27.11.2010). On this particular occasion 27 November 2010 was written as 平成22年11月27日 (*Heisei* 22 year, 11 month, 27 day) (field notes, 27.11.2010). The traditional Japanese calendar is associated with the era of the present emperor. As the current era is *Heisei* and year 1 started in 1989, *Heisei* (平成), 22(年) year was used. The eleventh month (11月) means November and 27 (日) day means 27th. This imperial year system underpinning the traditional Japanese calendar would seem to hark back to a pre-World War II nationalistic style education system (see chapter 6) and it would seem to be used to emphasise the importance and longevity of the emperor system in Japan. This could be because the emperor date system is used to stress that the emperor 'is the ultimate representation of the Japanese ethnocultural tradition and the pinnacle of Japaneseness' (McVeigh, 2014, p. 152).

In line with the *kokugo* national curriculum guidelines in Japan, calligraphy is also practiced at *Hoshūkō* on a yearly basis at the *kakizome taikai* (New Year's calligraphy competition) (Gordenker, 2001). At this event the A-Js have a chance to practice calligraphy with traditional brush, ink and paper.

5.3.1.6 *Kakizome taikai* (New Year's calligraphy competition)

Kakizome literally means write first (*kaki* means write and *Zome* means first). Gordenker explains that in Japan some people write *kakizome* on 2 January but as schools are closed on this day they write their New Year's calligraphy when they return to school after the holiday. At *Hoshūkō* the children did not do *kakizome taikai* until 10 February 2010 because a man visits the school to instruct the children and he was not available until this date.

In order to give the competition a traditional air at the London *Hoshūkō*, highly traditional Japanese music is played in the background as the young people enter the hall. The music is called *haru no umi*¹⁶⁴ (Spring Sea) played on two traditional Japanese instruments: the *koto* (a string instrument) and *shakuhachi*¹⁶⁵ (similar to a flute). The children walk into the hall one year group at a time. They are all sitting on the floor facing the same way. The younger children in year 1 and year 2 write with a pencil and the older children use a brush as I explained in my field notes:

In the smaller hall there is traditional Japanese music playing in the background the children are doing *kakizome*. There are a lot of young children in the hall. There is a Japanese man talking with a microphone. He is holding a brush and he is explaining how to write with the brush. The children are writing *tora* (tiger) because it is the Chinese year of the Tiger. Then I see my younger son, Richard, performing *kakizomi*. The man is now explaining how to write the kanji *shin* (new). My son is concentrating hard to listen and then he tries to write. He has several practices (field notes, 6 February, 2010).

At the end of the competition the children choose their best version and they are hung up on the notice board. This competition at the London *Hoshūkō* is remarkably similar to the one Gordenker (2001) describes at her son's school in Japan. This event is relatively easy to participate in so my younger son Richard, like Benjamin's (1997) two children while attending school in Japan, seemed to enjoy doing his best to write neatly with a brush and ink. This event would seem to be a traditional event in which all the young people would seem to be able to participate.

In line with the national *kokugo* curriculum guidelines in Japan, the card memory game *hyakunin isschu* (Japanese card memory game), which means one hundred poems by one hundred poets (Varnam-Atkin, 2012) is also performed in the hall on a yearly basis at the London *Hoshūkō*.

5.3.2 Language and literacy at play in the *kokugo* curriculum

The A-J1s in my research have been routinely engaging in the card memory game *hyakunin isschu* over a prolonged period of time so they have become highly proficient. Successful participation in *hyakunin isschu* requires a combination of advanced Japanese language and literacy skills as well as a knowledge of traditional Japanese poetry.

5.3.2.1 *Hyakunin isschu* (Japanese card memory game)

At *Hoshūkō* a traditional Japanese atmosphere is created when they play *hyakunin isschu* as is evidenced from my field notes:

We go into the hall and it all looks very serious. Traditional Japanese (*haru no umi* [Spring sea]) music is being played very quietly [...] The head teacher is at the front sitting down with a microphone and there are four older students also sitting down at the front on his right. The head teacher starts talking with the microphone and his voice is very loud. The children are sitting in rows listening to him. The four students take it in turns to talk. I notice one of them is Yukiko (A-J1 female, aged 15). They are explaining the rules of

¹⁶⁴ This music can be heard by following this link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=29WgFkhv62w>

¹⁶⁵ These instruments can be seen on the above link.

the game. Then the children sit round some mats where there are many cards. The classes have been split up into groups of about 8-12. The head teacher reads out the first part of a short poem and the children have to find the second half. Then they keep the card. Some Japanese-Japanese mothers are monitoring the game [...] The children with the most cards in each year group receive a certificate (Field notes, 21.01. 2010).

Figure 9 illustrates that the majority of the young people, many of whom would appear to be A-J1, are engaging with the card game.

Figure 9 - Young people playing *hyakunin isschu*



Source: www.snapfish.co.uk¹⁶⁷ [Accessed 02.08.2010]

Hyakunin isschu consists of two types of cards. The card (*yomifuda*) on the right (see figure 10) contains the complete poem and it is written in *kanji* and *furigana* (a Japanese reading aid) and it contains a picture of the author. The card (*torifuda*) on the left (see figure 10) contains the last two lines of the poem and it is written in *hiragana* so it is easy to read for the young people at *Hoshūkō*. The *torifuda* cards are placed on the floor face up. As the poem from the *yomifuda* card is being read out loud, it is a race for the players to grab the correct *torifuda* card. The person with the most cards is the winner. Engagement in this activity requires many skills including an ability to read/remember Japanese poems and an ability to understand what is being said in Japanese in real time.

Figure 10 - A *torifuda* and a *yomifuda* card



Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Karuta_duo_kana-waka.jpg [Accessed 02.12.2010]

¹⁶⁷ As previously stated Snapfish is a web based service for sharing photographs among its members. As Yuri took the photographs at *Hoshūkō* she allowed me to view them via Snapfish.

Albert (A-J1 male, aged 14) and his sister Andrea (A-J1 female, aged 12) would seem to engage with this practice as a result of their mother, Yuri, having been practising with them the previous night:

[T]hey were practising [*hyakunin issyu*] the night before. She says that Albert memorises the first part and the last part of each poem without understanding the meaning (Field notes, 21.01.2010).

Yuri also told me that Albert has a Japanese Nintendo DS game of *hyakunin issyu*, which helps him to memorise the poems (Interview, 11.06.2010). This is a clear example of traditional *waka* poems being juxtaposed onto a contemporary platform (see section 7.4.3) which means that Albert can interact with traditional Japaneseness in a more contemporary format which should make it more engaging for him.

It is not only Albert (A-J1 male, aged 14) who seems to memorise the poems without understanding them but also Andrea (A-J1 female, aged 12), Albert's sister. She said, 'I don't really understand what any of the poems mean [...] coz at *Hoshūkō* they have a competition thing yeah so it's kind of like you memorise it for a competition' (Andrea, A-J1 female, aged 12, interview, 26.06.2011). Varnam-Atkin (2012) points out that it is common for young children to memorise the poems without understanding the meaning. Memorising facts is traditionally a main feature of the Japanese education system as it is considered more objective than the more subjective skill of creative thinking (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 130). This suggests that in memorising the poems, Albert and Andrea are learning the much necessitated Japanese skill of rote learning. Due to their skilful memorisation techniques, Albert and Andrea both managed to win the card game in their year groups (see figure 11) (Albert is third from the right and Andrea is fifth). What is more, only 2 of the 6 winners were racially 'pure' Japanese, the rest were A-J1, which would seem to defy *Nihonjinron* logic.

Figure 11 - The winners of the competition



Source: www.snapfish.co.uk [Accessed 02.08.2010]

Albert and Andrea would seem to actively engage in this activity because their mother is encouraging them to do so and they want to win the competition. What is important is that they

understand how to play the game and they are familiar with the rules as they have been actively engaging with this practice for many years both at *Hoshūkō* and at home. In addition, successful participation in this practice means that Albert and Andrea are proficient in Japanese language and literacy practices as they can read the cards, understand what the head teacher is saying when he reads the cards and find the correct corresponding card prior to the other players.

I believe that the engagement with this traditional Japanese card game is an attempt by *Hoshūkō* to inculcate the young people with a *Nihonjinron* notion of a unique Japanese language and culture that has existed for a very long time. This is because *hyakunin issu* is believed to date back to the *Heian* period (Varnam-Atkin, 2012), which was from 794 to 1192 (Oguma, 2002). The poems are relatively short and they are known as *waka*. These poems are believed to date back to the mid-seventh century (Varnam-Atkin, 2012), which suggests that the language used is somewhat archaic. Although this practice might appear rather outdated in a contemporary London context, the majority of the young people in my research seem to be able to actively engage with it to a lesser or greater extent. Those A-J1s who can successfully engage in such a practice are participating in the Japanese tradition of rote learning which enables them to engage in a similar learning skill as those attending mainstream education in Japan.

To sum up, a major part of being Japanese is to be socialised into rigorously exact language and literacy practices. This is attempted through the Japanese *kokugo* curriculum and the use of the school textbooks which are tightly regulated by MEXT and underpinned by the essentialist *Nihonjinron* belief of a unique and complex language which is only accessible to the racially 'pure' Japanese. I have shown how certain standardised language and literacy practices which are inculcated in schools in Japan are also inculcated at *Hoshūkō*. I have also shown how the A-Js have been actively engaging in the same language and literacy practices to those inculcated in state schools in Japan which suggests that they have also been inadvertently inculcated with the ideology of uni-raciality.

In the following section I turn to my specific ethnic categories (see section 3.3) to ascertain the extent to which certain young people in each of the categories are able to cope with the Japanese language and literacy practices at *Hoshūkō*.

5.4 Language, literacy and my ethnic formations

In order to garner a deeper understanding of how my ethnic formations experience language and literacy practices at *Hoshūkō* I will give some illustrative examples from the categories I previously established. These will include: Anglo-Japanese with Japanese language proficiency (A-J1); Anglo-Japanese with limited Japanese language proficiency (A-J2); Mixed-Japanese (M-J1); Sojourner Japanese-Japanese (SJ-J); British Based Japanese-Japanese (BBJ-J); and Non-Japanese (N-J). Where possible, I will use some illustrative cases of real young people to highlight their experiences and where this is not possible I will use the opinions of the teachers and the other young people at the London *Hoshūkō* to represent their experiences. I have, where possible, chosen to illustrate the young people who are in senior school as they have been engaging with such practices over a prolonged period of time and they can reflect on their time at *Hoshūkō* with the benefit of hindsight.

5.4.1 Anglo-Japanese with Japanese language proficiency (A-J1)

According to *Nihonjinron* logic, the A-J1s should not be proficient enough to attend *kokugo* classes due to the influence of their Non-Japanese parent in the home environment (Aizawa, 1999a). However, my three illustrative cases: Nicky (A-J1 female, aged 16); Yukiko (A-J1 female, aged 16); and Carl (A-J1 male, aged 18), would seem to challenge *Nihonjinron* logic as they have had an intense engagement with Japanese language and literacy practices at *Hoshūkō*.

5.4.1.1 Nicky's experience

Nicky, who lives in Cambridge, did not start attending *Hoshūkō* until the age of 10 because prior to this she was attending local¹⁶⁸ Japanese language classes organised by Japanese-Japanese parents. When I interviewed her she was in the first year of senior school at *Hoshūkō*.

Nicky is a conscientious student, she spends over two hours on her Japanese homework on a Friday night, but she said that completing the homework is stressful for her¹⁶⁹:

Nicky: I try and do it [homework] in the week but it's normally on Friday night and I normally get very stressed out

CL: right so why do you get stressed out?

Nicky: you get a lot of *kanjis* to learn you get quite a few now and our teacher says if you don't get more than 80 you have to re-do it [*kanji* test] next week

¹⁶⁸ The same was true for Nicky's two siblings and for Rodger as he also lived in Cambridge and attended the same Japanese classes as Nicky so he did not start attending *Hoshūkō* until the age of 13. I know this because I interviewed his mother, Sawako, on 12.06.2010 and his father, Tim, on 16.05.2011.

¹⁶⁹ This is similar to Aizawa's (1998b, p. 106) students who referred to Friday night as 'black Fridays' as they had to spend many hours, sometimes staying up until one or two in the morning, preparing for *Hoshūkō* on Saturday morning.

CL: right

Nicky: so I really have to I try and start it earlier than Friday night but normally I just leave it till late and then I spend quite a long time doing it probably more than two hours

CL: right so how many *kanji* do you get a week to learn?

Nicky: last year we got 26 [*kanji* to learn] you also needed to write like an example sentence so like I just memorised all my example sentences (Nicky, A-J 1 female, aged 16, Interview, 16.05.2011)

Nicky most probably feels anxious because of the excessive amount of *kanji* (26) she had to learn each week the previous year, in addition to writing an example sentence for each of the *kanji*. It would seem that Nicky, in line with young people in Japan, is trying to learn the *kanji* by rote as she memorised all her example sentences. But this level of commitment was difficult to sustain as she said:

Nicky: last year I didn't do as much work I didn't do very well

CL: so why was that do you think?

Nicky: I did well in the beginning then I kind of gave up because there was a ridiculous amount [of *kanji*] to learn (Nicky, A-J 1 female, aged 16, Interview, 16.05.2011)

Nicky said she could not sustain the effort the previous year because of the tremendous burden of learning so many *kanji* on a weekly basis. Although she tries to memorise the *kanji*, it is difficult for her to retain the *kanji* she has learned the previous week (ibid).

Now in senior school, with even more *kanji* to learn, Nicky's teacher has said that if a student scores less than 80% in the test, it has to be repeated. However, this threat would seem to have motivated Nicky as in her most recent *kanji* test she had done extremely well in spite of having 40 to memorise, which did not seem to follow on logically from what she had previously said:

Nicky: but this year last week we got 40 to write and 40 to read but I think that was because it was the beginning [of year 1 senior school] and they were trying to test us

CL: right

Nicky: so I tried really hard

CL: so what did you get?

Nicky: umm I did really well I got 98% (Nicky, A-J 1 female, aged 16, Interview, 16.05.2011)

As Nicky was stressing how difficult it is to learn the required amount of *kanji* each week at *Hoshūkō*, I was expecting her to not do well in this test. So I was somewhat surprised when she said that she had scored 98%. The aim of this *kanji* test is to test the students' level of Japanese *kanji* literacy. As Nicky scored 98%, this would suggest that she has reached a high level.

In spite of not starting *Hoshūkō* until the age of 10 and commuting from Cambridge to London which involves getting up at 6.30 and leaving the house at 7 on a Saturday morning, coupled with the burden of memorising the required amount of *kanji*, coping with the demands of mainstream

schooling as well as extracurricular activities, Nicky has managed to attend the London *Hoshūkō* for 6 years. She experienced all that the London *Hoshūkō* had to offer until the age of 15 (the end of compulsory schooling in Japan) when she graduated from middle school. She had now chosen to attend senior school (from the ages of 15 to 18) which, as previously mentioned, is situated on a different site of the London *Hoshūkō*. Although Nicky had only attended the London *Hoshūkō* one morning a week since the age of 10, she has demonstrated an ongoing commitment to Japaneseness in terms of perseverance (*gambaru*) and endurance (*ganman suru*) and her resulting achievement is somewhat astounding.

5.4.1.2 Yukiko's experience

Yukiko (A-J1 female, aged 16) lives in London and she has been attending *Hoshūkō* for 10 years. She is now in the second year of *Hoshūkō* senior school. Yukiko told me that when she was in primary school she worked hard to learn the kanji:

I tried harder when I was younger as it kind of mattered more (Yukiko, A-J1 female, aged 16, interview, 21.04.2011)

Yukiko attached more importance to studying Japanese when she was younger. She believed that this hard work helps her in senior school as she said, 'because of it I kind of can get along get by in lessons'. However, she admits that she is having problems completing the homework because she missed a lot of *Hoshūkō* due to her GCSEs as she said, 'basically coz GCSEs came in and I was like they're my priority so I didn't really turn up' (Yukiko, A-J1 female, aged 16, interview, 21.04.2011).

Yukiko also finds completing the homework stressful as she knows that if she does not succeed, it will be difficult to perform *ondoku* (reading aloud) in class:

[...] I do find it [completing the homework] kind of stressful coz I'm just like if I don't do this especially with the reading coz um we read out in class so you can't read it it's really embarrassing so like now I've just lost all my dignity so it's like I can't actually read this [...] (Yukiko, A-J1 female, aged 16, interview, 21.04.2011)

As Yukiko had missed a lot of *Hoshūkō*, it is difficult for her to read aloud in class. In spite of the embarrassment this causes her, it does not deter Yukiko from attending *Hoshūkō* and continuing to engage with Japanese language and literacy practices.

Hoshūkō is problematic for Yukiko as she has difficulty juggling her mainstream school work and *Hoshūkō* work. She seems to prioritise her mainstream school work in terms of GCSEs and extra-curricular activities over attending *Hoshūkō*. Although Yukiko seems to be a conventionally high achiever, she has problems completing the *Hoshūkō* homework. Nevertheless, she has been attending *Hoshūkō* for 10 years, albeit rather sporadically at times, which has enabled her to

have an intense engagement with authentic Japanese language and literacy practices. She, like Nicky, completed middle school at the age of 15 and then chose to attend senior school on another site of the London *Hoshūkō*. Although she may find participating in some of the literacy practices difficult, her learning is ongoing.

5.4.1.3 Carl's experience

Carl, who lives in London, started *Hoshūkō* when he was 7. When I interviewed him he was in the third year of senior school and when I observed his class he was in year two. Carl made a sustained effort to learn Japanese when he was younger:

in hindsight I'm definitely pleased that I went especially in the lower years coz that's when the foundation is so solid and I'm happy that I'm glad that I worked quite hard at it not to say I can't it doesn't justify my slacking off now but it sort of puts my mind at ease when I know that I know it I can do this stuff when I can (Carl, A-J1 male, aged 18, interview 06.07.2011)

Carl now realises that if he sets his mind to it, he can learn the *kanji*. However, he also realises he cannot make such an effort due to the homework from his mainstream school and the extra-curricular activities in which he is involved as he said, 'I like go to St Peters school and we have like three hours homework and I play the violin and I have to practise that every day [...]' (*ibid.*).

Carl stressed how time-consuming the Japanese homework can be as his mother is not often available to help him:

[...] every week we'll get a *kanji* test we'll probably get an essay to write for three weeks time and then reading and for me for some people reading is just fine but for me reading it is I don't know I can't read that *kanji* I'll look it [*kanji*] up in my dictionary and write it down and it takes about 15 minutes to do one page that's quite frustrating at times I mean obviously if my mum's free I can just ask her and but normally she's not she's either practising¹⁷⁰ or teaching at school and I have to look it [the *kanji*] up in my dictionary it's quite a slow process (Carl, A-J1 male, aged 18, interview 06.07.2011)

Carl has to use his *kanji* dictionary to write in the *furigana* (Japanese reading aid) in his book to help him to read the *kanji*, which is time consuming. Although Carl told me he is a fluent Japanese speaker, he has problems reading the *kanji* so it is difficult for him to perform *ondoku* (reading aloud) as he said, 'some of the *kanji* is just beyond me in terms of reading out loud and things like that'(Carl, A-J1 male, aged 18, interview 06.07.2011). Carl realises that it is impossible for him to complete all the homework, so he focuses on learning some *kanji* each week as he said:

so I tend when I do my homework well I tend to focus on the *kanji* for the test two reasons one I don't want to get zero and suffer the humiliation and whatever and two I think it's good to learn at least one or two [*kanji*] a week (Carl, A-J1 male, aged 18, interview 06.07.2011)

Carl would seem to feel a certain amount of pressure about learning *kanji* for the weekly test, as obtaining zero would be a humiliating experience for him. He, therefore, tries to juggle the

¹⁷⁰ Both Carl's parents are musicians.

homework burden from *Hoshūkō* with that from his mainstream school by doing some of his Japanese work at mainstream school¹⁷¹:

I would take some Japanese work with me to school on a Friday and I'd just do half an hour in my free periods instead of maths or whatever because I could do the maths on the weekend (Carl, A-J1 male, aged 18, interview 06.07.2011)

This emphasises the high level of commitment Carl has towards Japanese language and literacy practices at *Hoshūkō*.

Carl justifies his inability to complete the homework as he thinks that no one, not even 'the Japanese', manages to complete all the homework and the teachers are not expecting them to:

everyone in my class even the people who are the most fluent really good even they don't have time to do it [the homework] so especially in *kōkō sei* (senior school) they're setting a lot of homework but the teachers are expecting not everyone they're not really expecting it all to be done [...] (Carl, A-J1 male, aged 18, interview 06.07.2011)

Carl has been attending *Hoshūkō* for 11 years and he worked hard when he was in primary school. He has had an intense engagement with authentic Japanese language and literacy practices over a prolonged period of time even though in senior school he has problems completing the homework. Carl reconciles the fact that he cannot complete the homework as he believes that everyone in his class finds this problematic. He also believes that by learning just a few *kanji* each week, will give him the opportunity to work in Japan in the future if he so desires (Carl, A-J1 male, aged 18, interview 06.07.2011).

From a British perspective, the *kanji* requirements of the *kokugo* curriculum would appear to be excessive which suggests that on the surface of it, it is difficult for the A-J1s to cope. However, it would seem that in spite of this, the three A-J1s can cope as (1) they have attended *Hoshūkō* for many years; (2) they try to attend *Hoshūkō* on a regular basis; and (3) complete as much of the homework as they can. It would seem that they confound the *Nihonjinron* notion of what it means to be Japanese as instead of being in the *nihongo* classes, which were originally established for them, they are managing to attend *kokugo* classes. This is an unexpected outcome if the tenets of the *Nihonjinron* ideology are applied.

Next I will focus on Anglo-Japanese young people with limited Japanese language proficiency (A-J2) who attend *nihongo* (Japanese 'remedial' language) classes to give a sense of how they might experience *Hoshūkō*.

¹⁷¹ He has also obtained GCSE, AS and A Level Japanese all with the highest grades.

5.4.2 Anglo-Japanese with limited Japanese language proficiency (A-J2)

As previously stated, in the *nihongo* class I observed, 11¹⁷² out of 17 were A-J2s (field notes, 19.02.2011). Of the remaining 6, 5 were Mixed-Japanese (M-J) (see section 3.3.2) and 1 was Non-Japanese (N-J) (see section 3.3.5). This means that of the 17 questionnaire responses I received from this class, 16 were Japanese of Mixed-Ethnicities (JM-Es) and 1 was Non-Japanese (N-J). There were no Japanese-Japanese (J-J) in attendance. So on the face of it this class would seem to be representative of the *Nihonjinron*-type logic because the A-J2s attend *nihongo* classes because they are not proficient enough to attend *kokugo* classes due to the influence of their Anglo parent. What is clear, however, is that the existence of the *nihongo* department at *Hoshūkō* is an official recognition that the *kokugo* curriculum is unsuitable for the A-J2s.

5.4.2.1 The A-J2s and the *nihongo* class

Nihongo literally means 'language of Japan' (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 15), which might imply a meaning such as 'Japanese as an Additional Language'¹⁷³ (JAL). At *Hoshūkō* as in Japan, it is this which is inculcated to the Non-Japanese, including Japanese of Mixed-Ethnicities, who cannot follow the *kokugo* (Japanese for native speaker) curriculum. However, in spite of the large amount of A-Js at the London *Hoshūkō*, there are few possibilities to attend *nihongo* classes when compared to *kokugo* classes. At the only site of the London *Hoshūkō* where such classes are offered, only 82 students attended these classes compared to 457 in the *kokugo* department on the same site (The Japanese School, 2012). This quasi racial segregation would seem to mark them as inferior. This idea would seem to be supported by Aki (*nihongo* teacher) who told me that *nihongo* classes have been labelled 'remedial' classes (interview, 21.12.2010). Many parents will be aware of this so they may not want their children to attend such classes even though they might benefit from them.

5.4.2.2 An inferior status

In line with *Nihonjinron* ideology, *nihongo* classes seem to have been assigned an inferior status within *Hoshūkō*. Aki (*nihongo* teacher, Interview, 21.12.2010) told me that the *nihongo* department used to be known as the department of remedial education ('*kaifuku bu*') for those lacking the required Japanese proficiency to attend mainstream *kokugo* classes. As '*kaifuku bu*'

¹⁷² Emma (A-J2 female, aged 13) would seem to be similar to a SJ-J as she was born in Japan and she had lived in England for 7 years (see appendix I). She started *Hoshūkō* at the age of 6, left to go to Japan, and returned to *Hoshūkō* when she was 9. She also ticked the box to say that she was returning to Japan with her family in the future.

¹⁷³ The British equivalent is EAL (English as an Additional Language).

literally means ‘recovery’¹⁷⁴ department’, there is an assumption that those who lack Japanese proficiency are suffering from some sort of an illness (Aki *nihongo* teacher, Interview, 21.12.2010). Aki also said that it is the job of the *nihongo* teachers to teach the young people *nihongo* to stop their Japanese proficiency from dropping by the wayside (‘*ochi kobore*’). Aki was saddened that at *Hoshūkō* this department has such negative connotations.

To highlight the inferior status of the *nihongo* curriculum in Japan it is not prescribed by MEXT (Gottlieb, 2012) so teachers are left to their own devices when teaching such classes (Moorehead, 2013). I noticed that in the *nihongo* class I observed, the textbook they were using was *Doraemon no Dokodemo Nihongo* (field notes, 19.02.2011). *Doraemon* is a popular cartoon character in Japan, who is used to inculcate young people with the norms of social behaviour (see chapter 7).

Figure 12 – *Doraemon no Dokodemo Nihongo* textbook



Source: <http://www.amazon.co.uk/Doraemon-no-dokodemo-nihongo-AA-VV/dp/4095101342>
[Accessed 20.10.2013]

This textbook is published by a Japanese publisher (*shogakukan*) which strongly suggests that the A-J2s are being inculcated with the same standardised language and culture as the A-J1s. Many Japanese *nihongo* textbooks ‘describe culture as static’ and emphasise simplistic peculiarities such as Japanese communication style (Sato and Doerr, 2014). This is because such knowledge is reproduced by researchers and simplified in textbooks (*ibid.*; Kubota, 2014b). Kumagi (2014, p. 215) refers to such textbooks as ‘ideological apparatus’ because social hierarchy in Japan is ‘maintained and reproduced through the textbook’ and the social hierarchy particularly relevant to the A-J2s is that of Japanese versus foreigners (*Ibid.* p. 209). Through the use of this Japanese textbook the A-J2s are being inculcated with a similar ‘essentialist cultural understanding through the emphasis of the uniqueness of Japanese culture’ (Kubota, 2014a, p. 23) to the A-J1s.

¹⁷⁴ The English word ‘remedial’ has a similar connotation.

What I found surprising was that like the A-J1s, the A-J2s I observed are committed to Japaneseness. This is because many of them have been attending *nihongo* classes for an extended period of time (10 years) so they are refusing to accept the wholesale exclusion from Japaneseness by demonstrating perseverance (*gambaru*) and endurance (*ganman suru*) albeit to an inferior *nihongo* version.

This kokugo/nihongo dichotomy would seem to emphasise the 'insider-outsider tenets of the *Nihonjinron* stance on language' and it places the ownership of the Japanese language firmly in the hands of the racially 'pure' Japanese (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 15). This conflation of language, 'race' and culture within a *Nihonjinron*-type ideological narrative, suggests that the Japanese language 'is viewed as a linguistic barrier' (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 52). However, at the London *Hoshūkō* the A-J1s have insider status as some would seem to have defied *Nihonjinron* logic by managing to cope with the *kokugo* curriculum whilst the A-J2s have outsider status as they are learning *nihongo*. Although it would seem that the A-J2s cannot cope with learning *kokugo*, they nevertheless demonstrate a strong commitment to Japanese language and literacy practices and they, like the A-J1s are trying to defy *Nihonjinron* logic by learning Japanese at *Hoshūkō* which is also true for the M-Js.

5.4.3 Mixed-Japanese (M-J)

The M-Js are different from the A-Js as their non-Japanese parent is not White British. This parent may speak a language other than English and Japanese with which the M-Js also engage (see section 3.3.2). Of the 8 M-J informants in my research, 6 of the 8 juggle three languages at home; 5 attend *nihongo* classes and 3 attend *kokugo* classes. This suggests that, like the other ethnic formations, their Japanese language proficiency varies. I will focus on Hana, who I interviewed, as an illustrative example of an M-J.

5.4.3.1 Hana's experience

Hana (M-J female, aged 19) attended *kokugo* classes at *Hoshūkō* for 9 years. She differs from the A-J1s at *Hoshūkō* as she said she grew up juggling three languages: Japanese, Cantonese and English (interview, 12.04.2011). Hana explained that in the home environment, 'my dad's side used to speak to me in Cantonese and my mum used to speak to me in Japanese' and English was something she learned outside the home at school (*ibid.*). But now she is older, three languages are spoken in the home environment as Hana emphasised, 'when my dad's speaking

to me he speaks to me in Chinese and my mum just speaks to me in the other ear and like two different languages and then there's my brother shouting at me in English' (*ibid.*).

In addition, Hana contended with two complementary schools, 'Japanese school was Saturday and Chinese school was Sunday' (interview, 12.04.2011). Hana found it difficult to cope with two versions of *kanji*, 'like writing is really hard coz like you see Chinese Chinese [*sic.*] and Japanese are really similar and they've both got *kanji*' so 'it just got too much so I quit Chinese school and I slowly quit Japanese school' (*ibid.*). Hana left Chinese school when she was 11 and *Hoshūkō* when she was 15 due to the difficulty of the *kanji*. She wrote that she left *Hoshūkō* because, 'it got too hard at times and couldn't keep up with the reading' (questionnaire data).

Her mother tried to help her by writing *furigana* (Japanese reading aid) beside the *kanji*:

she [mother] just helped me I guess but like reading and stuff obviously like she put like *hiragana* on top of the *kanji* (interview, 12.04.2011)

Hana also said that she was getting low marks in the tests at *Hoshūkō* so in the end she left one year prior to completing what is compulsory literacy education in a Japanese context (6-15). Although Hana left *Hoshūkō* at the age of 15, she showed a strong commitment to Japanese language and literacy practices as she had attended from the age of 6 to 15.

Hana seemed to be disappointed that she had failed to complete compulsory Japanese literacy education. She feels that she was not coping with the *kokugo* curriculum very well as she struggled with reading and writing. I feel that as the rigors of learning the required amount of *kanji* is so great, it has left Hana with a feeling of inadequacy as her perception was she had an inability to cope with the *kokugo* curriculum. This is because the yardstick for comparison is an idealised native speaker. However, if she is compared to young people in mainstream schools in London learning Japanese, her Japanese language proficiency far outshines theirs as she took Japanese GCSE, AS and A level at a younger age than is usual and received the highest grades possible. What is more, she still has the rest of her life to engage with Japanese language and literacy practices as she told me, 'I would definitely go to Japan to work for a couple of years'.

Devoting the required amount of time to the homework at *Hoshūkō* may be problematic for the M-Js as they may also be learning a third language. This suggests that they may not only have to contend with *Hoshūkō* work, mainstream school work and extracurricular activities, but also the work from learning the language of their other parent. However, attending both Chinese school on Sunday and Japanese school on Saturday did not deter Hana from an intense engagement

with Japanese language and literacy practices over a prolonged period of time at the London *Hoshūkō*.

Next I will turn to the Sojourner Japanese-Japanese (SJ-J) and the British Based Japanese-Japanese (BBJ-J) to see how they experience *Hoshūkō*'s language and literacy practices.

5.4.4 Sojourner Japanese-Japanese (SJ-J)

The SJ-Js are the young people for whom the London *Hoshūkō* was originally conceived and for those SJ-Js mentioned in my data, the assumption is they have spent a considerable amount of time in the Japanese education system. They are now in the UK and some have been here for a long time whereas others have only recently arrived from Japan. However, in reality the situation is more complex as one SJ-J (male, aged 18) I spoke to in Mika's class had come to London from the Philippines (field notes, 05.03.2011).

Learning the required amount of *kanji* is important for the SJ-Js as they are expected to return to the Japanese education system at some time in the future (Yamada-Yamamoto, 1999), however, in reality they may go to another overseas country before returning to the Japanese education system. As the assumption is they have relatively recently left Japanese education, it is likely that they will be proficient in Japanese language and literacy practices. They will also be used to the intensity of Japanese literacy practices so the assumption is the SJ-Js can cope better than my other ethnic formations.

Hoshūkō is a place where the *kanji* literacy skills of the SJ-Js can develop through the use of the *kokugo* curriculum. However, some of the SJ-Js are a bit impatient because some of the pupils at *Hoshūkō* are too slow for them as their Japanese language proficiency is relatively weak as Shintaro (SJ-J male, aged 11) stated in answer to the question: What do you dislike about *Hoshūkō*?

That some people, who can't speak Japanese very well and not going to just learn Japanese can't understand something and stop the teacher, and stop the whole lesson. (questionnaire data)

Shintaro notices the different levels of Japanese proficiency within his class which he perceives as problematic. Harumi (SJ-J female, aged 18, questionnaire data) seems to concur with Shintaro as she wrote, '[t]here are very large gaps between the students' level of Japanese. So I feel the lessons go very slow sometimes'.

The gaps in Japanese proficiency are all the more noticeable because the SJ-Js are no longer in the majority at *Hoshūkō*.

However, some of the SJ-Js may find learning Japanese at the same time as dealing with English problematic as according to Aizawa (1999b, p. 106) many SJ-Js cannot 'juggle two sets of school work at a time' so some SJ-Js 'return to Japan after a few years in this country with imperfect English and imperfect Japanese' (*ibid*). This could be because they have arrived in this country in their teens so they may struggle with the demands of learning English and Japanese. This suggests that the experiences of the SJ-Js at the London *Hoshūkō* are highly complex. Similar to the other ethnic formations, some SJ-Js can manage the burden of memorising *kanji* on top of their mainstream school work whereas others cannot.

5.4.5 British Based Japanese-Japanese (BBJ-J)

According to the *Nihonjinron* narrative, as the BBJ-Js are racially Japanese and they have two Japanese parents, they should be better able to cope with the *kokugo* curriculum than the AJ-1s. However, I noticed that this was not necessarily the case. For some BBJ-Js, as with other young people in other complementary schools, language shift may start to occur so they may lose their Japanese proficiency as they stay in London for a long period of time (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). I am drawing upon Taishi (BBJ-J male, aged 15, interview, 09.05.2011) and Sho (BBJ-J male, aged 15, interview, 10.05.2011) as illustrative examples of BBJ-Js at *Hoshūkō* who have difficulty coping.

5.4.5.1 Taichi's experience

Taichi was in year three of senior school when I interviewed him and when I observed his class he was in year two. I noticed that in Mika's class (year 2, senior school) Taichi seemed subdued (field notes, 05.03.2011). I later discovered that he had regularly missed one term of *Hoshūkō* each year because he had to play rugby on a Saturday morning at his mainstream senior school. As a result, he was struggling to keep up with the workload at *Hoshūkō*. He particularly struggled with the *kanji* tests but, like the A-J1s, he worked hard to complete the homework when he was in primary school as he explained:

Taichi: when I was younger I was just motivated by the curriculum like you learn a set [number of *kanji*] in a year group and then you learn the next set in the next year group when it gets to like um *kōkō* [senior school] [...] they don't really have a set number of *kanji* to do coz they kind of like they expect you to know most of the *kanjis* that are there so

CL: so do you still have *kanji* tests, don't you?

Taichi: yeah and they're a lot harder

CL: how many do you have to learn a week? roughly

Taichi: umm well it's not really about learning it's about how much you already know [...] so like last week I got a zero and the week before I got two out of sixty or something (Taichi, BBJ-J male aged 17, interview, 09.05.2011)

Taichi is struggling to such an extent with the *kanji* tests that at times he cannot remember any. Not surprisingly, he said he found Japanese difficult to read 'especially like reading newspapers stuff and reading books'. He also admitted that he was not very proficient at Japanese even before he had missed a term of *Hoshūkō* to practise rugby as he said: 'it wasn't exactly like I was that good at Japanese in the first place' (*ibid.*).

In spite of the problems Taichi is having with learning *kanji* and following the lessons, he seems committed to attending *Hoshūkō*:

they're [the lessons] difficult but I think I don't regret going to Japanese school because if I didn't go I would just be one of those Japanese people who couldn't speak Japanese [...] when I came to England [at the age of 4] I only knew the basic Japanese that I talked with my parents and stuff yeah coz like going to *Hoshūkō* kind of like like taught me to like write Japanese and I can construct like a basic essay [...] even though it's not that good but so I think it's kind of helped a lot and the lessons are like they're enjoyable but yeah they're difficult to follow sometimes (Taichi, BBJ-J male, aged 17, interview, 09.05.2011)

Taichi has been attending the London *Hoshūkō* for 9 years and he chose to attend senior school even though he perceives himself as having limited Japanese proficiency (Taichi, BBJ-J male, aged 17, interview, 09.05.2011). What is more he, like the A-J1s, would seem to be claiming participation in Japaneseness as he said 'I don't regret going to Japanese school because if I didn't go I would just be one of those Japanese people who couldn't speak Japanese' (*ibid.*) (cf. Francis *et al.*, 2010). This suggests that he wants to support *Nihonjinron* logic that those who are racially Japanese are proficient at Japanese. Taichi feels that attending the London *Hoshūkō* has helped him to maintain his Japaneseness.

Taichi disrupts the *Nihonjinron* ideology linking racial features with language proficiency. In spite of having two Japanese parents, his Japanese language proficiency is problematic and it would seem to be weaker than that of a number of A-J1s in my research.

5.4.5.2 Sho's experience

Sho (BBJ male, aged 15) has also been attending *Hoshūkō* for 9 years and he is currently in the first year of *Hoshūkō* senior school. Although he has two Japanese parents, he also finds it difficult to complete the homework. For Sho the *kanji* tests are problematic as he said, 'I find them [*kanji* tests] really hard and it's like embarrassing if you get like low marks and stuff' (Sho, BBJ-J male, aged 15, interview, 10.05.2011). He admitted to regularly scoring less than 50% in

the *kanji* tests. Sho seems to be struggling with the kanji tests even though he spends three hours or more on his homework each week:

Sho: well on Friday it just becomes a big rush and at night we just spend from 6 until 9 or something just doing it straight

CL: so how do you feel about that?

Sho: quite tense coz I have to learn it [kanji] and do all the like homework papers and stuff which is quite like after school you have to do it so it's quite like tiring (Sho, BBJ male, aged 15, interview, 10.05.2011)

For Sho completing the large amount of *Hoshūkō* homework is problematic. He tries to complete it on a Friday evening but he is tired after attending mainstream school. However, his mother admitted that she often completes his homework for him to increase his motivation to attend *Hoshūkō* (Masako, J-J mother of two BBJ-J children, interview, 01.10.2010). Despite having two Japanese parents, Sho's Japanese language proficiency is weaker than some of the A-J1s in my research so at times he has problems coping at *Hoshūkō*. In spite of struggling with the homework, Sho would seem to be committed to attending *Hoshūkō*.

These two illustrative examples disrupt the *Nihonjinron* notion that to speak Japanese you have to have two Japanese parents. Although the BBJ-Js are racially 'pure' Japanese, it does not necessarily follow that they will find it any easier at *Hoshūkō* than the A-J1s. This is because they have lived in England for most of their lives and they attend mainstream schooling from Monday to Friday. They seem to be aware of this so they, like the A-J1s, are trying hard to maintain their Japaneseness. This may not always be possible as the BBJ-Js, like the A-J1s, have many demands placed upon them from their mainstream school.

My research has uncovered an unexpected ethnic formation at *Hoshūkō*, the Non-Japanese (N-J), who have no racially Japanese parent. This grouping is unexpected because unlike Chinese complementary schools where people of non-Chinese ethnicities can attend (Francis *et al.*, 2010b) this would be problematic at *Hoshūkō* because it is a total Japanese speech environment so Non-Japanese with no connection to Japanese language and literacy practices would find it difficult to manage. As this grouping is relatively unusual at *Hoshūkō*, I can only take a cursory glance drawing upon Mika's (*Hoshūkō* teacher, interview, 12. 12.2010) observations and the questionnaire data for Martha (N-J female, aged 16) (see chapter 3).

5.4.6 Non-Japanese (N-J)

Strictly speaking the N-Js should not be attending *kokugo* classes as they have no link to racial Japaneseness. Contrary to *Nihonjinron* rhetoric, Mika (*Hoshūkō* teacher, interview, 12. 12.2010) gave an example of a Russian student with Japanese language proficiency:

I taught last year some Russian students actually last year both parents are Russian but um he lived in Japan for long time so his Japanese is excellent [...] he was the best in the class you know last year [...]

Although this particular Russian student had two Russian parents, his Japanese proficiency was similar to that of an SJ-J as according to Mika, he had lived in Japan for an extended period of time. Therefore, he can cope well with the *kokugo* curriculum as Mika asserted 'his Japanese is excellent. [...] he was the best in the class'. This Russian student's experience is the opposite of Martha's as she is in the *nihongo* class finding it difficult to cope with learning Japanese (see chapter 3). The Russian boy seriously undermines the *Nihonjinron* assumptions about 'race', nation and language whereas Martha does not.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that because *Hoshūkō* it is under the direct control of MEXT its language and literacy practices are similar to those in compulsory state education in Japan. Although it is in a contemporary London setting, it is nevertheless underpinned by an essentialist ideological basis which would seem to support the notion of uni-raciality. However, in the London *Hoshūkō* there are an increasing number of A-Js in attendance who are calling into question this notion. Although racially speaking the A-J1s may not look Japanese and they may not share allegiance to the notion of Japan as a nation of one people, one language and one culture, they are gaining access to authentic Japanese language and literacy practices through attending *kokugo* classes at the London *Hoshūkō*.

I have shown how the common sense 'race' equals language equation is problematised at *Hoshūkō*. This is because it is impossible to make assumptions about how well a person can cope at *Hoshūkō* based on their racial features as the ideological narrative of *Nihonjinron* would seem to suggest. A great many of the Sojourner Japanese-Japanese and the Russian N-J who have resided in Japan for a significant number of years can cope with the language and literacy practices at *Hoshūkō*. However, according to Aizawa (1999b) this is not always the case because some SJ-Js struggle with English language at their mainstream school in Britain which has an adverse effect on learning Japanese. In my Anglo-Japanese with Japanese Language

Proficiency (A-J1) and Mixed-Japanese (M-J) categories it is impossible to definitively state that they can all cope well even though some clearly can. In terms of the Anglo-Japanese with limited Japanese Language Proficiency (A-J2), they would seem to be committed to learning Japanese even though they attend *nihongo* (JAL) classes. It is difficult to reproduce the *Nihonjinron* ideology in a contemporary London context and it is a mistake to assume that those who are engaging can cope. In spite of the difficult circumstances for the teachers at the London *Hoshūkō*, Aizawa (1999b, p. 106) argues that, 'the top students at the Saturday School are as good as, if not better than, those at normal schools in Japan' and according to Mika (*Hoshūkō* teacher) some of which are the A-J1s (interview, 12.12.2010). What is clear is that although many of the A-J1s cannot approximate Japaneseness in a racial sense, in a linguistic sense some clearly can.

In the next chapter I will demonstrate that in addition to the essentialist language and literacy practices which I have outlined in this chapter, the Anglo-Japanese have also had an intense engagement with institutionalised regulatory practices that pervade the London *Hoshūkō*. This intense engagement over a prolonged period of time inculcates the A-Js with a sense of how to behave in a Japanese state school.

Chapter 6 Institutionalised regulatory practices at *Hoshūkō*

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I argue that the A-Js have been inculcated with a dense network of institutionalised regulatory practices at the London *Hoshūkō* ¹⁷⁵. Similar to schools in Japan, the norms of social behaviour at *Hoshūkō* are constructed through the standardisation of language and culture (Kubota, 2014) (see also chapter 7). Certain sociolinguistic and bodily practices (*aisatsu*) are routinely inculcated at *Hoshūkō* in an attempt to regulate behaviour. Such regulatory practices form part of, what is known in Japan as, moral education as McVeigh (2014, p. 152) remarks, 'it is within sanctioned educational sites that *aisatsu* is symbolically linked to moral education' (McVeigh, 2014, p. 152).

Aisatsu practices are routinely inculcated in schools in Japan through the school subject of moral education. Although moral education is not a specific subject at the London *Hoshūkō*, it is nevertheless inculcated across all activities in line with MEXT's guidebooks which 'repeatedly state that moral education should be taught not just in regular moral education classes, but should be present in other classes and permeate all school activities' (McVeigh, 1998, p. 132). Such a notion of moral education would seem to have been strengthened by current prime minister Abe's educational reforms, which place particular emphasis on 'order, discipline and a more thoroughgoing moral education (as defined by ministry-approved textbooks)' (Aspinall, 2014, p. 244).

In this chapter I will demonstrate how regulatory (*aisatsu*) practices would appear to permeate many school activities at *Hoshūkō*. In order to highlight these *aisatsu* practices I have divided them into two groups: (1) regulatory practices in the classroom and (2) regulatory practices in the wider public gaze. Before discussing these practices, I will first of all explain the Japanese *emic* concept of *aisatsu* and link it to Sugimoto's (2014, p. 325) notion of friendly authoritarianism.

6.2 *Aisatsu* practices and friendly authoritarianism

The term *aisatsu* is difficult to translate into English because, as with many Japanese *emic* concepts, it is a polyfunctional word so there is no one direct English equivalent that accurately reflects the entirety of its meaning (Ide, 2009). Although the term is commonly translated as

¹⁷⁵ This would seem to be similar to Chinese complementary schools (see Francis *et al.* 2010a).

“greetings and farewell” (Ide, 2009, p. 18), I, like Ide (2009, p. 19) believe that it has a much broader application and it can be applied to any situation where power relations exist, such as the school, the Japanese home and the wider Japanese community (see chapter 7).

Aisatsu practices in schools in Japan (and in the home and the wider community) would seem to form ‘an invisible institution tied to Japaneseness that provides a sense of “we-ness” and interlinks national identity with [...] statism’ (McVeigh, 2002a, p. 133). However, such state involvement in education is not unique to Japan; it is found in many countries (McVeigh, 1998, p. 125), which is emphasised by Bourdieu (1998, p. 35) who cites Bernhard (1989, p. 27):

School is the state school where young people are turned into state persons and thus into nothing other than henchmen of the state. [...] The state forced me, like everyone else, into myself, and made me compliant towards it, the state, and turned me into a state person, regulated and registered and trained and finished and perverted and dejected, like everyone else. When we see people, we only see state people, the state servants, as we quite rightly say who serve the state all their lives [...].

Examples of *aisatsu* practices that I witnessed at *Hoshūkō* included: formulaic language including ‘thanking’, ‘making congratulatory remarks’, ‘giving speeches’, (Ide, 2009, p. 18) and bodily practices including bowing, and the correct demeanour when sitting down, and standing up (McVeigh, 2014). These examples suggest that *aisatsu* practices are ‘routine formulae of politeness’ (Ide, 2009, p. 25) which involve sociolinguistic (McVeigh, 2002a, p. 121), sociocultural and/or bodily practices (Ide, 2009, p. 25). In this chapter (and chapter 7) I am using the concept of *aisatsu* in the broadest sense of the word to refer to routinised behaviour which can involve formulaic language, cultural and/or bodily practices to extend ‘public courtesy as well as social etiquette [...] in a ritualistic and symbolic manner’ (Ide, 2009, p. 25).

Such *aisatsu* practices are not only inculcated at *Hoshūkō* but also in the Japanese home and in the wider Japanese community (see chapter 7) through a system of ‘micro-management’ for which Sugimoto has coined the term ‘friendly authoritarianism’ (2010, p. 290). Friendly authoritarianism is a regimentation pattern that is used to standardise the thinking patterns, and the attitudes and behaviour of the Japanese in Japan (*ibid.*). It exerts ‘a powerful centripetal force’ which not only standardises behavioural patterns (*aisatsu*) by making sure the young people ‘toe the line’ in a relatively painless manner but it is also implicitly inculcates the ideology of uni-raciality (*ibid.*, p. 291). It is friendly in that (1) individuals in positions of power, in this case the teachers at *Hoshūkō*, are seen as being congenial; and (2) large-scale events, such as *undōkai* (sport’s day), are used to ensure that authority infiltrates the lives of individuals in a relatively light-hearted way (Sugimoto, 2014, p. 326). It is authoritarian in that it tries to encourage

Japanese young people to accept (1) the internalisation of the value system that sees control and regimentation as natural, and to accept (2) orders and instructions from those in authority without questioning. It is through this notion that 'various forms of moralistic ideology' is inculcated 'into the psyche of every individual with a particular stress on minute and trivial detail (spontaneous expressions and free actions of individuals are generally discouraged)' (*ibid.*). It is such 'minute and trivial detail' which is seemingly stressed in the graduation ceremony (*sotsugyō shiki*) (see section 6.4.2).

Although the *aisatsu* practices I will be covering in this chapter (and in chapter 7) 'are mundane in themselves', I, like McVeigh (1994, p. 54), believe that 'the cumulative weight of incessantly repeated actions and words carry potent cultural codes that are nonconsciously registered, thereby shaping thought patterns [...]'. In addition, I demonstrate how notions of Japaneseness 'are reproduced through these seemingly trivial actions' (*ibid*) which are 'effectively constructing and sustaining cultural systems' (*ibid*, p. 53). McVeigh (2014, p. 152) refers to such practices as 'ethnocultural ideology' which I believe suggests that *aisatsu* practices are reserved for the Japanese and as such they might be seen as exclusionary practices for many Non-Japanese. This may be because it is difficult for them to access mainstream education (see chapter 5) where such practices are routinely inculcated.

During my classroom observations at the London *Hoshūkō*, I noticed the use of the routinised *aisatsu* practice of (1) saying hello to the teacher (Ide, 2009) and the inculcation of (2) honorific language (*keigo*). In addition, two A-J1 informants mentioned some of the rules, regulations and drills that exist at *Hoshūkō* in their conversational interviews.

6.3 Institutionalised regulatory practices in the classroom

One of the aims of *Hoshūkō*, in line with schools in Japan, is to produce conformist and submissive individuals (McVeigh, 1998; Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999; Goodman, 2002; Sugimoto, 2010) which is attempted through the routinised use of *aisatsu* practices. The first relatively marked one is saying hello to the teacher in a routinised and regimented manner.

6.3.1 Saying hello to the teacher¹⁷⁶

Saying hello to the teacher at *Hoshūkō* should be collectively performed in the classroom when all the young people have arrived and the teacher has taken the register. One of the students is expected to shout *kiritsu* (stand up), *rei* (bow) and *chakuseki* (sit down) and the whole class is expected to follow the command (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 141). This practice combines both linguistic and bodily elements of *aisatsu* and it should be performed in a routinised militaristic fashion (Ide, 2009).

This is more or less what I experienced on one occasion during my classroom observations as is evidenced in my field notes (27.11.2010). The teacher announces that it is time for *aisatsu* with the phrase, *aisatsu shimasō* (let's do *aisatsu*) (*ibid.*).

The teacher says it's time for *aisatsu* (greetings). A J-J male says *kiritsu* (stand up), *rei* (bow), *ohayō gozaimasu* (good morning), *chakuseki* (sit down). They all stand up, they all bow, they all say *ohayō gozaimasu* and then they all sit down (Field notes, 27.11.2010).

The term *ohayō gozaimasu* (good morning) has been added to the formulae.

According to Sugimoto (2010, p. 141), these 'military ethics' are the direct result of of the 'guidance and domination of the central government' on the 'routines, conventions, and practices' inculcated in schools in Japan. These 'military ethics' are used to form the personality of the students, and they help produce 'a socially acceptable person' in line with the norms of Japanese society by controlling pupils through moralising and mental training (*ibid.* p. 303).

However, such moralising techniques are not always successful at the London *Hoshūkō* as I also witnessed:

The teacher announces that it is time to do *aisatsu*. They all stand up, bow and say *ohayo gozaimasu* (good morning). Mari does not stand up so they have to do it again (Field notes, 13.02.2010).

Because Mari does not conform to this practice the whole class is forced to repeat it.

I noticed that this practice of *aisatsu* is also performed before leaving the classroom as a polite way of saying goodbye to the teacher. However, again it is not always performed in the correct militaristic fashion:

A boy says *kiritsu* (stand up), they all whisper *rei* (bow) and then everyone half-heartedly says *sayonara* (goodbye) (Field notes, 13.02.2010).

In this example, the young people seem to be weakly following this practice as they all whisper *rei* rather than it being said in an authoritative tone by one student and the others simply obeying the command. This suggests that the young people routinely engage in this practice, but at times

¹⁷⁶ This is similar to what I experienced at mainstream schooling in Britain when pupils were required to stand up as a mark of respect whenever a teacher entered the classroom.

they may show signs of disaffection which is nevertheless tolerated by the teacher. This disaffection could be because such a practice could be seen as both boring and oppressive as *aisatsu* is 'not just a one-time act, but a repeated action' (Ide, 2009, p. 21) (see section 6.4.1). However, despite the A-Js disaffection with *aisatsu* practices, they are still absorbing a strong version of Japanese insider status through the routine practice of saying hello (and goodbye) to the teacher.

During my classroom observations, I noticed the congenial nature of the teachers which in line with Sugimoto's notion of friendly authoritarianism, allows a certain amount of misbehaviour to be tolerated as the teachers try to remain jovial and have a certain banter (overwhelmingly in Japanese) with the young people. The teachers tended to ignore acts of misbehaviour (by European standards) and at times the classroom could even appear to be quite rowdy (see section 6.4.1). McVeigh (2014, p. 75) believes that such a seemingly undisciplined atmosphere by British standards which is also prevalent in schools in Japan, is tolerated because there is an underlying belief that in spite of this seemingly bad behaviour it is still possible for pupils to subtly acquire an array of crucial values and beliefs through the pervasive nature of *aisatsu* practices. This would seem to explain why such behaviour is also tolerated at *Hoshūkō*.

As *aisatsu* practices can contain routinised formulaic language to extend politeness (Ide, 2009, p. 25), they are inextricably linked to honorific language (*keigo*) as McVeigh stresses, '[p]roper speech and honorific language are incomprehensible without an understanding of *aisatsu*' (McVeigh, 1997, p. 166).

6.3.2 *Keigo* (honorific language)

Keigo forms the linguistic element of *aisatsu* and it is normalised at *Hoshūkō* through its repeated use. As mentioned above the phrase *ohayō gozaimasu* (good morning) has been incorporated into the practice of greeting the teacher. It is a routinised greeting in formal situations. The less formal version would simply be *ohayō*. *Gozaimasu* is a marker of respect in polite situations (*teineigo*) used to address those in positions of authority such as teachers.

I also witnessed the use of the diminutive suffixes *kun* (attached to boys names) and *chan* (attached to girls names) used to address the young people by the teacher. During one of my classroom observations the teacher was enquiring about the whereabouts of Mari (A-J1 female) so she referred to her as 'Mari *chan*' (Field notes, 27.11.2010). The term *sensei* was routinely

used by the young people (lower status) to address the teacher (higher status), which was also the case with the A-J2s in the *nihongo* class even though some had extremely limited Japanese language proficiency (Field notes, 19.02.2011). *Sensei* is a marker of respect in Japan and according to Goodman (2002, p. 4) it infers the meaning of a person ‘who is charged with shaping the moral world of the children in his or her care and ensuring they have learnt the facts that will give them the best chance of examination success’. In addition, in one of the classes I observed (field notes, 12.02.2011) *sonkeigo* (exalting language) was being taught.

Although the use of honorifics is by no means restricted to Japan as they are ‘widespread in the world’s languages, [...] various in form and [...] creatively deployed (Irvine, 2009, p. 156), the Japanese honorific’s system is considered to be ‘one of the world’s most elaborate’ (*ibid.*, p. 60)¹⁷⁷. This suggests that Japanese honorifics highlight the difficulty and the uniqueness of the Japanese language (McVeigh, 2002a, p. 124), which gives some credence to the *Nihonjinron* notion of a unique and complex Japanese language. The correct use of honorific language is important in Japanese society because it signals a person’s Japaneseness (McVeigh, 2002a). What is important for the A-Js is that they have had routine repeated exposure to Japanese honorific language at *Hoshūkō*. They will be familiar with the basics of honorific language even if some aspects may be more difficult to master. Their seemingly insider knowledge of honorific language would seem to go against the grain of widely circulating ideologies that suggest the ‘pure’ Japanese are ‘somehow essentially and morally linked to the Japanese language’ (McVeigh, 2002a, p. 124).

As in schools in Britain, there are many rules and regulations at the London *Hoshūkō*. Carl (A-J1 male, aged 18) and Yukiko (A-J1 female, aged 16) complained about the rules and regulations in some depth during their conversational interviews.

6.3.3 Rules and regulations

The purpose of the rules and regulations at *Hoshūkō* would seem to be to encourage the young people to ‘accept the instructions and orders of people in superordinate positions without questioning’, which is in line with Sugimoto’s notion of friendly authoritarianism (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 291). However, Carl (A-J1 male, aged 18) and Yukiko (A-J1 female aged 16) did seem to call into question these rules and regulations as is evidenced below.

¹⁷⁷ See Irvine (2009) for a more in-depth discussion of the relative complexity of Japanese honorific language.

6.3.3.1 No running in the corridor

At the beginning of the school year the teacher reads out the safety procedures at *Hoshūkō*, which on the face of it, would appear to be similar to those in a mainstream school in this country. However, Carl seems to think that there are too many rules and regulations at *Hoshūkō*. He is annoyed that the teacher is reading out such petty rules, which he thinks are more relevant to those in the younger years of *Hoshūkō*, than to those who are in the final year of senior school:

at the beginning of the year there's always a a sort of a safety talk and it's something to do with Japanese culture and it's just anything dangerous or anything sort of yeah anything dangerous and anything that's *abunai*¹⁷⁸ [dangerous] like anything which you can't and there's a whole list and we have that and I was there on the first day with this new teacher and she was reading out this whole list about don't run in the corridor and I thought do I really need to be listening to this as there were so many we are 18 and we're being told not to run in the corridor and not to go on the climbing frame when it's wet it's like come on [...] I've heard it for the last 8, 9 or 10 years I just think it's a bit annoying and the teacher knows that we know but she does it anyway or she could so easily be like oh you already know this stuff I've read this on record and get on with some teaching but no it's just the obligation of following rules yeah and rules rules are very important in Japan [...] (interview, 06.07.2011)

Although Carl is aware of the importance of rules in Japan, he questions the need for the teacher to repeatedly read out the same rules at the beginning of each school year irrespective of age. He believes that the rules are read out to emphasise the regulatory nature of *Hoshūkō* rather than to inform them of the safety procedures. So from Carl's perspective repeatedly reading out the same rules and regulations year on year is an unnecessary practice. Nevertheless, the regularity of this practice over an extended period of time means that Carl is fully conversant with the rules and regulations that exist in a Japanese state school.

Yukiko is also critical of the regulatory nature of *Hoshūkō* and she calls into question the rule of 'no eating or drinking'.

6.3.3.2 No eating or drinking

Yukiko questions this rule of no eating or drinking at *Hoshūkō* as she said:

like one time my friend was caught eating or something and this guy came in I don't know who he was he was like deputy head or something and he had like a massive go at him it's just like nothing [...] it's just like it's not like he ate and he made a massive mess and then something disastrous happened he was just eating and stuff like that [...] it's not like a big deal I don't understand why they are making such a big deal there's a bit too much discipline for what it is [...] and I think it's like sort of in the Japanese culture coz I was in like I don't know coz Japanese people kind of like order but still everyone in it is in London at the moment (interview, 21.04.2011)

Yukiko is also aware of the regulatory nature of Japaneseness but she believes that in this instance the deputy head teacher over-reacted when her friend was caught eating at *Hoshūkō*. The no eating or drinking rule is in line with Japanese mainstream schools as '[u]sually, a student may not buy and eat snacks in school' (MEXT, 2005). Students in Japan cannot bring food to

¹⁷⁸ Although Carl is speaking in English, he quite naturally inserts the Japanese term *abunai* into the conversation. This may be because he realises that it has different connotations to its English equivalent, which could give some credence to the notion that the Japanese language is untranslatable. However, multi-lingual speakers of any languages use the same strategy to facilitate communication (Canagarajah, 2007).

school and there are no vending machines (Harlan, 2013). Yukiko put this rule down to Japan being an orderly society. However, she believes that these rules are not necessary at *Hoshūkō* because it takes place in a contemporary London context and not in Japan. However, this is one particular aspect of *Hoshūkō* which she does not like as she said:

I don't really like how it's quite rule based I don't know it's not very free as in most of the people going there are not going coz they you know like love Japanese they're going coz that's part of them and their identity I find it really hard to take them seriously when they're like as in they're really really serious about everything it's just like grow up (interview, 21.04.2011)

It would seem that although Yukiko does not really want to be subjected to a full-on version of *Nihonjinron* style moral educational practices when attending *Hoshūkō*, she is fully conversant with such practices and has participated in them on many occasions.

Yukiko also remarked upon the role of one particular parent in the enforcement of the rules and regulations at *Hoshūkō*.

6.3.3.3 The enforcement of rules and regulations

The rules and regulations are not only enforced by the teachers at the London *Hoshūkō* but also by some of the parents when performing *tōban* (volunteer duties). Yukiko thinks that such parents, who volunteer at *Hoshūkō* are 'uptight' and one parent even became angry when the rules were flouted to the surprise of both Yukiko and her mother:

[...] my mum and I are like really surprised coz like everything had to have its place and when she [her mother] helped out like parking or something they said like this leader person who gets very like angry if you didn't like follow orders like and then she's really scary (interview, 21.04.2011)

Yukiko and her mother could be surprised at this behaviour because it would seem somewhat out of place in a contemporary London context. However, this experience has exposed Yukiko to what Sugimoto (2010, p. 295) refers to as 'mutual surveillance within small groups' which forms part of his notion of 'friendly authoritarianism' (*ibid.*, p. 292). This surveillance is an example of 'horizontal control': the policing of people of a similar status in small groups which makes it difficult for people to digress from the expected standard of behaviour in Japanese society (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 295). This surveillance relies on small groups to enforce its members to comply with the dominant norms of society (*ibid.*). However, the person Yukiko is talking about does not seem to be very friendly. This could be because the person in question feels that in a contemporary London context friendly measures are ineffective so she is resorting to more 'coercive controls' (*ibid.*, p. 291).

The rules and regulations at *Hoshūkō* would appear to be pretty unremarkable in themselves, but it would seem to be the strict adherence to them and their enforcement highlight the relative

conformist nature of the Japanese education system. Although Carl and Yukiko question the necessity of such regulatory practices in a contemporary London context, they have been routinely engaging with them over an extended period of time, which means that they are aware of the many rules and regulations associated with schools in Japan.

6.3.4 Drills

Carl (A-J1 male, aged 18) also mentioned two drills which are practised on a yearly basis at *Hoshūkō*: the fire drill and the intruder drill. Although Carl does admit that they do not practise the earthquake drill at *Hoshūkō*, which is commonplace in schools in Japan (Foster, 2011), he is highly critical of these two drills because he thinks that they are somewhat out of place in a contemporary London context.

6.3.4.1 Fire drill

Although Carl admits that fire drills are practised in his mainstream school in London, he points out the need for a handkerchief in Japan:

when there's a fire alarm thing that's a bit tedious at times we have to have a handkerchief apparently I don't know how that helps [...] there's going to be a practice fire alarm next week could everyone please bring a handkerchief with you [...] and we all rush outside I mean we do fire drills at school it's just [...] I mean it's fine I've got nothing against handkerchiefs it's fine but everyone in Japan does that all Japanese have handkerchiefs and that's the tradition and *Hoshūkō* aims to emulate Japan and that's fine they're entitled to do so [...] (interview, 06.07.2011)

In Japan it is a common social practice to routinely carry a handkerchief in public spaces for a variety of reasons including: drying your hands after using the toilet, and wiping the sweat off your brow in summer. It cannot be assumed, however, that all male and female young people at the London *Hoshūkō* will automatically be carrying a handkerchief so they are told to bring one on the day of the fire drill. In a fire drill in Japan a handkerchief is apparently placed over the mouth to prevent excessive smoke inhalation. Carl finds it rather unrealistic to bring a handkerchief to *Hoshūkō* just to practise a fire drill.

The next drill, what to do if an intruder suddenly appears in the classroom, is from Carl's perspective even more unrealistic in a contemporary London context.

6.3.4.2 Intruder drill

Carl tells me about the guidance offered to young people about what to do if an intruder walks into the classroom as he says:

[...] but there was one actually about what happens if a stranger sort of a psycho man walks into the room with a gun or like a sword or whatever and to be honest I'd just run but apparently you have to put the tables down and hide behind the tables because it's like a shield [...] you know it's all quite fun at the time but it's like totally unrealistic that just took half an hour of our time and I want to learn a bit of kanji today (interview, 06.07.2011)

Carl feels that such a drill is unrealistic in a contemporary London setting and that the time used for this 'drill' could be better spent teaching *kanji*. In schools in Japan, as in many industrialised countries, drills are used to regulate behaviour in case of an emergency. The intruder drill would seem to be commonplace in schools in Japan. It was introduced as a reaction to an incident in a Japanese primary school in 2001 in which a man stabbed to death eight children (Murakami, 2002). From Carl's perspective such a drill would seem to be somewhat remarkable, but it would seem to be remarkably similar to what is known in America as a 'Code Red Drill' (see Tett, 2014).

Although Carl is highly critical of these two drills and to him they seem out of place in a contemporary London context, my overall argument is that Carl is aware of a Japanese version of a fire drill and an intruder drill which gives him firsthand experience of the seemingly regulatory nature of a Japanese state school.

In addition, to the institutionalised regulatory practices in the classroom, the A-Js have also been engaging with the regulatory practices that feature in the events to which the parents are invited.

6.4 Institutionalised regulatory practices in the public gaze

When institutionalised regulatory (*aisatsu*) practices are in the public gaze, the young people are required to perform them with a degree of precision to demonstrate that they are conforming to the regulatory aims of *Hoshūkō*. Examples of regulatory practices in the public gaze include: (1) classroom observations by parents (*Jigyō sankan*); (2) the graduation ceremony (*Sotsugyō shiki*), and (3) sports day (*Undōkai*). Although I have witnessed all these events on many occasions as a parent, in this section, I will focus on the specific events I witnessed during my fieldwork period. The first two are more authoritarian in nature and they illustrate the almost theatrical qualities of *aisatsu* (McVeigh, 2014). I will, therefore, use Goffman's notion of a staged performance to explain such theatrics. The last one is friendlier but it is nevertheless imbued with state sanctioned regulatory practices.

6.4.1 *Jigyō sankan* (classroom observations by parents)

Hoshūkō tries to present to the parents an orderly performance of a Japanese-style learning environment for the bi-annual hour-long classroom observation. Implicit in these performances are the correct *aisatsu* practices.

In a parent observation of my son's class during my fieldwork period, I noticed a sharp contrast in the attitudes and behaviour of the young people and the teacher before and during the classroom observation. This was the scenario before the parents arrived:

I go to my son's classroom. The door is open. No one has noticed me. There are 25 children in the class and they seem quite naughty. They are talking in a mixture of Japanese and English. [...] They are slouching at their desks. They seem quite bored. It looks quite disorderly. My son¹⁷⁹ suddenly notices me and he tells the teacher that he has to leave [in Japanese]. One child shouts 'again' and another one shouts 'that's not fair' [in English] (Field notes, 06.06.2010).

Everyone seems very relaxed so the class seems quite disorderly. The young people are not only flouting the implicit sociolinguistic rule as they are speaking in English but also rules governing bodily practice as they are slouching at their desks. In Goffman's (1959, p. 114) terms this is the 'backstage' or 'behind the scenes' of the theatrical performance which is to come. The actors (young people) are relaxing and the teacher is preparing for her performance as in general the classroom is a 'place where the performer can reliably expect that no member of the audience will intrude' (Goffman, 1959, p. 116). The teacher seems oblivious to what the young people are doing and she seems to be focusing on what is to come.

However, when the parents enter the classroom just half an hour later the staged performance (Goffman, 1959) begins:

The teacher is standing up tall in front of the class. She is lively and energetic. She is talking about optical illusions [in Japanese]. She has some pictures and she is asking what people can see. Some children put their hands up to volunteer responses. [...] Everyone is speaking in polite Japanese or they remain silent. [...] Then the children have to read the reading passage from their government prescribed textbooks which is about optical illusions [...]. The teacher asks for volunteers to read out loud from the textbooks, about five children volunteer. One boy (A-J1) has difficulty reading so the teacher makes him repeat several times until he reads correctly. The teacher explains the meaning of some of the *kanji* in the text and she uses the interactive white board¹⁸⁰ to write the *kanji*. Then the young people have to complete a work sheet on their own in silence. They all seem to be trying to do this. The teacher asks for students to give answers to the work sheet. It is always the same people who volunteer (Field notes, 06.06.2010).

The teacher is so animated in her performance of teaching the whole class that it seems staged. This could be because the length of the performance is relatively short (one hour) so 'it will be relatively safe for the performer [...] to maintain a front that is rather false' (Goffman, 1959, p. 215). In addition, it is highly teacher-centred. This is because a teacher-centred classroom serves to highlight the hierarchical teacher/student relationships in Japan as students should 'receive knowledge from the teacher in an unquestioning manner' which serves to encourage passivity in students (McVeigh, 2002b, p. 113). All communication is initiated by the teacher in Japanese. This is because students should not be encouraged to talk out of turn and student-centred classrooms are discouraged (McVeigh, 2002b, p. 113). This is a far cry from what I

¹⁷⁹ I spoke to my son about this and he said that their behaviour is usually worse and that they often throw a piece of paper screwed up into a tight ball at each other (Field notes, 06.06.2010). He also said that they all enjoy the banter they have with the teacher.

¹⁸⁰ This is in contrast to the full-time Japanese school in London, where blackboards and chalk are still used.

observed in some classrooms, as students did talk out of turn and some teachers did try to adopt a student-centred approach.

The young people take their roles in the production seriously when the parents are present. They refrain from shouting out in English and they speak solely in Japanese or they remain silent. The majority of the young people are paying attention to the correct posture by sitting upright at their desks. About five students (SJ-J; BBJ-J; and A-J1¹⁸¹) volunteer to read from the government prescribed textbooks. The A-J1 young person who cannot read properly is repeatedly corrected by the teacher until he reaches the required standard. However, this struggle to read Japanese is not frowned upon; it would seem to be an example of the young person's application of the notion of *gambaru* (perseverance) and/or *ganman suru* (endurance). The teacher asking for volunteers to read out loud would seem to be a token gesture to student involvement rather than a real attempt to engage them in learning. The emphasis would seem to be on maintaining order and following the correct procedures rather than on the young peoples' active participation in learning Japanese. This is because morality would seem to be more important than content and 'teacher-student interactions' are part of the more minor but pervasive practices that carry 'hidden messages of morality' (McVeigh, 1998, p. 133-134).

When compared to the scenario I witnessed directly before the classroom observation, it would seem to be a staged performance (Goffman, 1959) of an orderly Japanese learning environment with which the teacher, the majority of the young people as well as the parents would seem to be complicit. What is important, however, is that the young people are given the opportunity to participate in instances of smoothly functioning implicit regulatory practices in the classroom.

A further example of a relatively smoothly functioning regulatory practice is the graduation ceremony (*sotsugyō-shiki*). I observed such a ceremony as part of my fieldwork and my younger son, Richard, was in attendance. On the surface, this ceremony would seem to highlight the more 'authoritarian' side of Sugimoto's notion of friendly authoritarianism. However, from my experience the young people do not seem to regard it as authoritarian as the majority would seem to enjoy the experience of taking part in a graduation ceremony with their friends. Although my son may complain about the ceremony on the side, he would seem to have a feeling of pride when participating in the ceremony as is evidenced from his participation in such a ceremony in what follows.

¹⁸¹ In another observation (field notes 06.11.2012) a BBJ-J male volunteered to read and he couldn't read very well either.

6.4.2 *Sotsugyō-shiki* (graduation ceremony)

The graduation ceremony I witnessed at *Hoshūkō* was for those graduating at the end of elementary school as well as those graduating at the end of middle school (field notes, 13.03.2010). It took place on 13 March 2010¹⁸² because it was the last day of the Japanese school year. There was an elaborate sign outside the school to mark the occasion:

Figure 13 - The sign marking the graduation ceremony



My younger son, Richard, is standing next to the sign. The sign has pink and white carnations around it and the sign says that there is a graduation ceremony taking place at the London *Hoshūkō*. There is a picture of the *Hoshūkō* flag at the top. The *Hoshūkō* flag was designed by a former pupil at the school. It consists of a circle containing a picture of half the union flag and half the Japanese flag with Big Ben in the middle of the two flags. 'The Japanese Saturday school in London' is written down the side in English and some more information about the school is written underneath (see Figure 12). Richard is wearing smart clothes as are all the students, and teachers to mark the formality of the performance:

The deputy head teacher is wearing a formal black suit with a white shirt and tie. The head teacher is also here and he is wearing a morning suit. They are sitting to the left of the stage opposite the guests. [...]The young people are dressed formally. Some of the young people are wearing their school uniforms and some are wearing suits (field notes, 13.03.2010).

The setting for the graduation ceremony is extremely formal and solemn as is evidenced from the picture of the stage below. If we use Goffman's (1959) analogy, the stage has quite literally been carefully set for the performance that is to come.

¹⁸² All the photographs in this section were taken on 13.03.2010.

Figure 14 - The stage prepared for the graduation ceremony



Above the stage are the three flags: the Union Flag is on the left, the *Hoshūkō* flag takes centre stage and the Japanese flag is on the right. The flags make it seem militaristic particularly as the Japaense flag was used as a symbol of 'nationalistic and moral education during the war years (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 130). There is a microphone for the head teacher and a formal flower arrangement. There are white table cloths covering the tables. On either side of the flags are the words to the song, which is sung to the same tune as Auld Lang Syne, that everyone will sing.

The ceremony begins with the militaristic practice of *aisatsu* greetings:

The deputy head teacher stands up and says *kiritsu* (stand) in a stern voice. All the children stand up but there is some confusion as to whether the parents have to and half do (we stand up) and half don't. The head teacher gestures the parents to stand up. He says *rei* (bow) and we all bow. Then he says *chakuseki* (sit down) and everyone sits down (field notes, 13.03.2010).

There seems to be some confusion over participating in *aisatsu*. The head teacher shouts out *kiritsu* and the young people seem to follow. The head teacher says it in such an authoritarian manner which seems to induce some parents to stand up. The head teacher gestures the parents to stand up. This demonstrates that the young people have collectively practised for this event whereas the parents would seem to be out of touch with such practices.

The ceremony proceeds:

The deputy head teacher and the head teacher stand on the stage. The head teacher announces that these particular students are graduating from middle school. The class teacher reads out the names of their pupils and they go individually onto the stage to receive their graduation certificates. A student's name is called out by the class teacher (family name followed by given name); the student says *hai* (yes), waits on the stage facing the audience and then walks towards the head teachers. The students take the certificate first with the left hand and then with the right hand, take a step backwards, bow towards the flags and leave the stage. The parents clap for each student (Field notes, 13.03. 2010).

The class teacher calls out a student's name; Matsoka, Riki (my younger son). The student responds with *hai* (yes) in a loud confident voice. The student walks onto the stage but has to wait to the right of the stage facing the audience with the correct posture so that the ceremony flows in a continuous nature.

Figure 15 - Richard on the stage waiting to receive his graduation certificate



When the previous student has left the stage the young person walks to the head teacher, faces him and waits to be presented with the certificate (see figure 15). The head teacher gives the graduation certificate¹⁸³ with two hands and my son takes it in a precise manner; first with the left hand and then with the right hand; because the use of two hands to give and receive items is a polite social practice in Japan. My son then takes one step backwards, bows towards the flags and leaves the stage. The giving and receiving of the certificate and the bowing demonstrate the bodily practices associated with *aisatsu* (Ide, 2009). These practices are in line with MEXT's guidelines which state the necessity of having students "participate in a positive manner in the events" (McVeigh, 1998, p. 134) and that "desire to participate" in ceremonies is made visible through control of the body' (McVeigh, 1998, p. 134). In Goffman's (1959, p. 106) terms the young people take on 'purely ceremonial roles', who as performers are concerned 'with little else'.

Figure 16 - Richard receiving his certificate on stage



Although the situation is routinised and formulaic, I notice that there is one Anglo-Japanese boy who does not want to participate which is evident from his body language. This scenario would appear to be unavoidable because full year group participation is required so even the disaffected students are forced to participate. In spite of this seemingly non-conformity, the young person is

¹⁸³ The certificate comes rolled up in a black tube with the *Hoshūkō* flag and the name of the school embossed in gold which makes it look official.

nevertheless performing the ritual. What is more, this sign of disaffection does not interfere with the proceedings in any way.

The senior teachers conduct the ceremony entirely in the Japanese language¹⁸⁴ and the young people all speak in Japanese, there is no English whatsoever:

Then the deputy head teacher gives a speech about how difficult it is to learn *kanji* and go to English school from Monday to Friday. The head teacher also gives a speech. Then one pupil from each class gives a short speech. The pupil from one of the classes is J-J female, the pupil from another is Yukiko (A-J1, female aged 15) and there is a J-J male from the final class. They read their speeches from a large white piece of paper which they place in front of the microphone which is on a stand and they hold the piece of paper with both hands. They talk about how difficult it is to attend *Hoshūkō* on a Saturday because there is a lot of homework but they say that they like to go there to meet their friends [...] (field notes, 13 March, 2010).

The practices involved in the holding of and reading of the speeches would all seem to combine sociocultural, sociolinguistic and bodily practices associated with *aisatsu*. All speakers hold the large piece of white paper on which the speech is written in a precise manner and the rules governing the required honorific and humble language would seem to be adhered to.

There are further repeated examples of the use of militarised *aisatsu* during the ceremony to formally greet the many guest speakers as I wrote in my field notes:

Then there are speeches from some of the guests (the sponsors of the London *Hoshūkō*). Before each speaker the deputy head teacher says *kiritsu* (stand up), *rei* (bow), and *chakuseki* (sit down). He does this at the beginning and end of each speech so the young people are up and down like jack-in-the-boxes (the parents are not required to do this). Before each speaker starts speaking he bows at the same time as the young people. After finishing speaking, the person walks to the front of the stage turns his back to the audience and bows to the Japanese flag (field notes, 13 March, 2010).

This almost choreographed staged performance illustrates that the young people and the speakers are synchronised as they all bow at the same time.

After the ceremony there is a chance for parents to take a photograph of their child's class and then the young people have to go back to the classrooms for the final time. As we walk into the classroom I hear an A-J girl say 'and now for the final humiliation' [in English] (field notes, 13.03.2010). The comment made by an A-J female suggests that she is not fully compliant with the expected procedures. However, what is salient is that the young people are all participating in and experiencing these traditional Japanese cultural practices at *Hoshūkō*. Such practices would seem to hark back to pre-World War II with the notion of militaristic education: in particular the presence of the Japanese flag, the regimented greetings, the many speeches and the precise manner in which each student receives the graduation certificate on stage (Iwama, 1995; Sugimoto, 2010).

¹⁸⁴ This is in contrast to the head teacher at the Gujurati school who switches constantly between Gujurati and English when addressing the whole school and the parents (Blackledge and Creese, 2010).

It would seem that all the basic manners included in MEXT's guidelines are being covered throughout the entirety of the ceremony including: "Posture and How to Walk," "How to Sit," "How to Stand," "How to Bow," "How to *Aisatsu*," "How to Carry and Present Things," "How to speak," and "How to Use Honorific Language" (McVeigh, 2002a, p. 128). This suggests that the A-Js are being subjected to a relatively strong version of insider Japaneseness through their attendance at the graduation ceremony. This is not to say that they are always enthusiastic participants as is evidenced in some of the data, but their long-term engagement with such regulatory *aisatsu* practices destabilises the notion of a unique Japanese culture preserved for the racially 'pure' Japanese.

Due to the embedded nature of the *aisatsu* practices within the graduation ceremony, they become 'a crucial constituent without which 'the ceremony itself 'cannot materialize (*sic*)' (Ide, 2009, p. 22). As this ceremony is formal in nature, the suffix *go* (a marker of respect linked to honorific language) is attached to the word *aisatsu* (Ide, 2009, p. 22). The more formal the context, the more formulaic the *go-aisatsu* (Ide, 2009, p. 21). The formulaic nature of the *go-aisatsu* turns the ceremony into 'a social theatrics of formalized (*sic*) etiquette' (McVeigh, 2002a, p. 130) which supports my view that this ceremony lends itself to Goffman's (1959) notion of a staged performance. As the ceremony is in the public gaze, it is important that the *go-aisatsu* are adequately performed because they are:

an embodiment of sincerity and should be composed of proper posture and attitude, speed of speaking, use of pauses, as well as facial expressions and gaze directions (Ide, 2009, p. 24).

The graduation ceremony at *Hoshūkō* marks the graduation of pupils from each school, for example elementary, middle and senior school; which is in line with the system in Japan which is based on the American system of education introduced in Japan in the 1947 School Education Law (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999). This ceremony at the London *Hoshūkō* is, on the face of it, a cultural practice which also exists in my younger son, Richard's, mainstream school in London to mark the end of senior school (field notes, 27.11.2013). Although a graduation ceremony exists in mainstream state schools in Britain, I maintain that a Japanese graduation ceremony, which I have witnessed at *Hoshūkō* on several occasions as a parent and as a researcher, differs significantly from the London version partly due to the public performances of *aisatsu*.

Although the graduation ceremony is a traditional Japanese cultural practice, and it is 'used by the Japanese government to promote patriotism, loyalty and nationalism' (Befu, 1992, p. 41), I

noticed a small recognition of mixedness. Outside the *Hoshūkō* building only the *Hoshūkō* flag is on display (see Figure 8); the *Hoshūkō* flag and the Union flag are on the stage in the hall where the ceremony is taking place (see Figure 9); and an A-J1 female (Yukiko, A-J1 female, aged 16) reads a speech at the end of the ceremony (field notes, 13.03.2010). Contrary to Abe's insistence that pupils in schools are required to publicly show respect for Japan's national anthem (Arudou, 2013), no one is required to sing the Japanese national anthem at the London *Hoshūkō*.

Further examples of institutionalised regulatory practices and of *Hoshūkō*'s slight accommodation to mixedness are also evident at *undōkai* (sports day) (see chapter 6) which is a more overtly friendly version of Sugimoto's (2010) notion of friendly authoritarianism.

6.4.3 *Undōkai* (sports day)

*Undōkai*¹⁸⁵ takes place in July outside on the field at the London *Hoshūkō* which requires whole school attendance and participation, including the teachers and the parents in the PTA. Some of the activities range from those which are distinctively Japanese in nature to those resembling traditional British school sports day activities for example, three-legged race¹⁸⁶ (*ni-nin san kyaku*), relay race (*rire resu*), and tug of war (*tsuna hiki*) (field notes, 03.07.2010). This could be because the first sport's day is thought to have taken place in 1874 and it was proposed by a British Admiral (Fukue, 2010). However, it has a militaristic and formulaic feel to it which ethnically marks it from its contemporary British counterpart.

The start of the event illustrates its formulaic and militaristic nature:

The head teacher is standing on a table (so that everyone can see him) and he makes a formal speech [in Japanese] to welcome everybody to the event. He has a microphone. The three flags are attached to a fence (Union flag, Japanese flag and the *Hoshūkō* flag) to his right.

This part of the event is formal, regimented and militaristic; the head teacher uses a microphone, and the young people are facing the three flags which in this country would not be commonplace at a school sport's day due to their uber nationalistic connotations.

¹⁸⁵ A few of the young people wrote that they like sports day at *Hoshūkō* (questionnaire data).

¹⁸⁶ Figures 17 and 18 show the three-legged race. Students are doing this with a parent.

Figure 17 – The Japanese flag at *undōkai*



Source: www.snapfish.co.uk [Accessed 22.09.2010]

Similar to the graduation ceremony, *undōkai* is a totally Japanese speech environment although it is highly likely that some of the young people will be speaking in English to each other on the side as they are not directly in the public gaze to the same extent as they were in the graduation ceremony.

It is an event for which the young people have collectively prepared (Fujita, 1995; Sugimoto, 2010, p. 142) and this collective preparation suggests that the activities and practices are supposed to be conducted in a regimented and routinised manner. Sugimoto (2010, p. 142) believes that the routinised practice of *undōkai* is in line with the conformist nature of education and is linked to 'psychological integration'. He believes that this sporting event is designed to generate a feeling of group cohesion and achievement, as the activities tend to be team activities rather than individual activities. Every young person competes and they are divided into two teams: red (*aka gumi*) and white (*shiro gumi*), and each team tries to collectively achieve the highest score (Sugimoto, 2010). Everyone is encouraged to do their best and there is a sense of *gambare* (perseverance) and *ganman suru* (endurance) which according to Benjamin (1997) is also the case at an *undōkai* in Japan.

After the senior teachers' speeches, the whole school is required to perform *rajio taisō* (radio exercises) to very old fashioned piano music and spoken instructions as I wrote in my field notes:

Then the children do *rajio taisō* [radio exercises].¹⁸⁷ The deputy head teacher, the head teacher and a teacher called Ono *sensei* [teacher] stand at the front and do the exercises [so that the young people can copy them]. The children are standing in lines with the class teachers standing at the front also doing the exercises. They are divided into two teams red and white so many are wearing either red or white clothes with a band of material of the same colour tied around their foreheads. It looks very old fashioned and militaristic especially as they are facing the flags (field notes, 3.07.2010).

¹⁸⁷ The following link shows *rajio taisō* in action <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NNTKdQjvZ2A>

Figure 18 – Albert participating in *rajo taisō*



Source: www.snapfish.co.uk [Accessed 22.09.2010]

Figure 18 shows Albert (in the middle) and two of his A-J friends are just going through the motions of *rajo taisō*. This would seem to be tolerated as acceptable behaviour in Japan as no one is particularly forced to participate (Benjamin, 1997). They are in the white team and only the boy to the left has the white piece of cloth tied around his head in the appropriate manner. Albert has put it in his pocket and the boy to the right has it wrapped around his wrist. In spite of their relative nonconformity, Albert and his A-J friends have been routinely participating in *rajo taisō* for many years.

Rajo taisō (radio exercises) is a callisthenic style work-out which means that it is suitable for all age groups and levels of fitness. This work-out, which consists of standard exercises, is broadcast by the Japan Broadcasting Company (NHK¹⁸⁸). Fukue (2009) points out that the concept of *rajo taisō* actually started in America in the 1920s when piano music was played on the radio to accompany exercises. This type of exercise started in 1929 in Japan to commemorate the coronation of Emperor Hirohito (*ibid*) but it was banned in 1946 during the US occupation of Japan for being too militaristic¹⁸⁹ (*ibid*). In 1951 the current *rajo taisō* was re-introduced as the Japanese economy started to develop. According to the National Radio Exercise Federation (cited by Fukue, 2009), 76.4% of elementary schools still do such exercises. Sugimoto (2010, p. 143) believes that such standard exercises create an atmosphere of 'unity and solidarity' among the young people and he believes that most Japanese young people in Japan know how to perform the exercises.

¹⁸⁸ A version of this aimed at adults can be seen on Japanese Satellite Television (JSTV) in this country.

¹⁸⁹ By the end of 1945, the General Headquarters of the occupation forces (GHQ) had removed all examples of militarist and nationalist ideology in the Japanese education system including the *kokugo* curriculum and the government prescribed textbooks (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 30).

The whole school is expected to participate in *undōkai* so the participants' ages range from 6 to 15. The younger children seemed quite engaged in this event whereas some older children in my research seemed quite disengaged when they were not directly involved in the events which is evidenced below:

In the distance I notice a group of older boys, including my son, are playing football at the other end of the field down a slight hill. They have escaped from watching *undōkai* to quietly play football. However, they are soon spotted by a teacher and they are told to go back to watch the events and cheer for their teams. They reluctantly do so (field notes, 3.07.2010).

Some older children would seem reluctant to cheer for their team (MEXT, 2005) which suggests that *Hoshūkō*'s aim to foster a feeling of group cohesion and achievement (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 142) is not wholly successful in a contemporary London context. However, I like Benjamin (1999, p. 103) noticed that a degree of non-compliance would seem to be tolerated by the teachers.

At the end of *undōkai*:

the results are announced and both teams are presented with a trophy. The head teacher makes a speech to close the event, which is very formal. Two of the young people from middle school have also prepared speeches in polite Japanese (field notes, 3.07.2010).

The speeches are also examples of *go-aisatsu* as they are performed by the head teacher; 'the oldest and [...] the highest ranked of the participants' (Ide, 1999, p. 22).

In spite of the reluctance of some of the A-Js to participate in *raijo taisō* and cheer for their teams, they have been attending such an event for many years and they are familiar with a Japanese style sports day in twenty-first century contemporary London. However, I noticed that in spite of being a markedly Japanese event, this sports day showed signs of a recognition that it was not taking place in Japan but in a contemporary London setting.

6.4.3.1 Slight accommodation to mixedness

Although *undōkai* would seem to be a largely Japanese specific cultural practice, there are some signs of recognition of mixedness at this event which the A-Js embody. The first sign is the presence of the union flag and the *Hoshūkō* flag.

Figure 19 – The union flag at *undōkai*



Source: www.snapfish.co.uk [Accessed 22.09.2010]

In line with the graduation ceremony, no one is required to sing the Japanese national anthem as is commonplace in state schools in Japan (Fukue, 2010).

A further sign of recognition that *Hoshūkō* is in a mixed environment is the choice of music used to accompany the sporting events. In Japan classical music is usually played (Benjamin, 1997; Fukue, 2010) but at the London *Hoshūkō* there is both contemporary English and traditional Japanese music blaring out of the speakers:

All activities are accompanied by loud music, for example 'We are the Champions' by Queen, 'Go West' by Pet Shop Boys, an old fashioned sounding Japanese song called *Hashiru* (run). (field notes, 03.07.2010).

A final sign is the characters some of the parents from the PTA are portraying during the event (see figure 20). They are wearing masks to resemble British celebrities such as: Cheryl Cole, Lewis Hamilton and Simon Cowell and the British Prime Minister, David Cameron.

The parents also do a tug of war (*tsuna hiki*) and in the middle of the event parents run round dressed as famous people, for example, Cheryl Cole, Lewis Hamilton, [...], Simon Cowell, David Cameron [...]. They are wearing masks or outfits to look like these celebrities (field notes, 3.07.2010).

In figure 20 below, although the parent on the right is holding the Japanese flag, the parent in the middle is holding the *Hoshūkō* flag and the English flag of St. George is visible.

Figure 20 - Parents portraying characters at *undōkai*



Source: www.snapfish.co.uk [Accessed 22.09.2010]

The selection of British music, popular characters represented by the parents and the flags could all be small signs of accommodation to the notion that the London *Hoshūkō* is not situated in a Japanese environment but it is situated within a mixed Japanese/British environment within a London cultural context. All these practices and objects would seem to mark the *undōkai* at the London *Hoshūkō* from an *undōkai* in a Japanese state school in Japan.

6.5 Conclusion

The existence of institutionalised regulatory practices at the London *Hoshūkō* emphasises that 'the various rituals and informal curricula [...] are oriented towards moral education rather than developing basic knowledge and skills' (Fujita, 1995, p. 135). Such practices serve to highlight an official notion of Japaneseness, which are linked to the notion of *aisatsu* (McVeigh, 2002a, p. 127). *Aisatsu* practices are considered to be 'unmarked, normalized and socially expected conduct' so failing to perform them when required marks the individual as 'immature, uneducated and as lacking social regard' (Ide, 2009, p. 23). What is significant is that the A-Js have had such an intense and active engagement in a wide range of authentic *aisatsu* practices at the London *Hoshūkō* and for them they would appear to be relatively unmarked practices. It is the A-Js' intense engagement with authentic *aisatsu* practices that would seem to problematise the *Nihonjinron* notion that such practices are so unique that only the racially 'pure' Japanese can engage with them.

In the next chapter I highlight the dense network of conformist practices and traditional artefacts with which the A-Js also engage mainly in the family home in Japan. I then demonstrate how all these traditional practices and artefacts are depicted in the storylines of two popular Japanese *anime* (cartoons).

Chapter 7 Insiders, outsiders and traditional Japaneseness

7.1 Introduction

This thesis has explored how the *Nihonjinron* ideology imagines insiders and outsiders and I have argued throughout that the Anglo-Japanese have a relatively strong claim to authentic Japanese insider status. In this final chapter I demonstrate that they have had a lifetime engagement with a dense network of traditional Japanese artefacts and associated *aisatsu* practices which are believed to be only accessible to the ‘pure’ Japanese. This lifetime engagement with traditional Japaneseness is facilitated by regularly travelling to Japan¹⁹⁰ in the summer holidays. They tend to travel with just their Japanese-Japanese parent (and siblings), for a period of up to one month and they stay with their grandparents in areas outside Tokyo. In this final chapter I want to illustrate the A-Js insider status in a vivid way by contrasting their experience of traditional Japaneseness with that of Richard, a White British father of one of my A-J informants. Richard visited Tokushima, Japan for the first time in 2003 and he stayed in the relatively traditional home of his Japanese in-laws. In my engagement with him he reacted in the classic *Nihonjinron* way to traditional Japaneseness. This is in contrast to his own daughter and the other A-Js for whom traditional Japaneseness would appear to be somewhat mundane.

In the second part of the chapter I will give a glimpse of how the A-Js also achieve their insider status through their engagement with authentic Japanese popular culture. I demonstrate how they have been inculcated with the entire network of traditional Japanese artefacts and practices as well as the *Nihonjinron* notion of uni-raciality through watching authentic Japanese *anime* (cartoons). All in all in this chapter I demonstrate that the A-Js have been inculcated with a notion of Japanese insiderness (*uchi*) even though they are living outside (*soto*) Japan and I highlight the centrality of the Japanese home to this inculcation.

7.2 *Uchi* (insiders), *soto* (outsiders) and the Japanese home

Uchi and *soto*, which have ‘various sociocultural and linguistic implications’ (Makino, 2002, p. 30), ‘are core concepts of Japanese culture’ (*ibid.*, p. 62). *Uchi* (insider) would seem to refer to the racially ‘pure’ Japanese which is set in contrast to *soto* (outsider) the racially ‘impure’ Japanese.

¹⁹⁰ This is similar to those attending a Cantonese complementary school as they visited relatives in Hong Kong (Francis *et al.*, 2008). However, this is in contrast to some of the young people in Harris’ (2006) research who did not travel regularly to their parents’ country of origin. In addition, a ten-year-old boy at a Bengali complementary school had only been to Bangladesh once and he was not likely to return there (Blackledge and Creese, 2009).

Implicit in the word *soto* is that of outside person (foreigner) as the same *kanji* is used for the Japanese word *gaijin* (foreigner) (外 [gai] = outside and 人 [jin] = person) as is used for *soto* (外) (Creighton, 2007). What is more, Creighton (2007, p. 212) points out that:

[T]here is a general sense that all of Japan creates an *uchi*, a national inside boundary of affiliation, in contrast to everything that is *soto* or outside of Japan.

The A-Js would seem to form part of this *soto* as they live outside Japan.

Such a boundary is also implicated in a further meaning of *uchi*, the home, in contrast to *soto*, outside the home (McVeigh, 2000a; Makino, 2002). The inner sanctum of the home, the *washitsu* (traditional Japanese room) (see section 7.3.4) is considered to be only usually accessible to those of “blood relations” (Makino, 2002, pp. 30-31), so it would seem to be naturally exclusive to foreigners. It is in the context of the home that ‘initiating and responding to proper *aisatsu* collectively, repetitiously, and physically ingrained throughout socialization’ (Ide, 2009, p. 25), which suggests that ‘foreigners’ cannot be socialised with authentic “*uchi-ness*” in the same way as the Japanese. However, such exclusive boundaries are not wholly unique to Japan as Dale (2011, p. 39) asserts:

All nationalisms stake out the exclusive boundaries of their claim to uniqueness on the common ground of our collective humanity by categorical expropriations of favoured traits and values. What they attribute to themselves they must deny to ‘outsiders’ and conversely what is ascribed to others is disclaimed within the indigenous patrimony.

In Japan the boundary between outside (*soto*) and inside (*uchi*) the home is marked by the porch (*genkan*¹⁹¹) (see figure 21) (Waswo, 2009, p. 283). This is the point at which it is decided whether visitors to the house can gain access (Rosenberger, 1992). If access is granted, *aisatsu* practices begin. The *genkan* is where outdoor shoes [and coats] are removed and exchanged for indoor slippers (Daniels, 2010, p. 50). The *genkan* is lower in height than the hallway so once outdoor wear is removed, house slippers are worn. It is then necessary to take a step up into the *uchi* environment (Makino, 2002, p. 30; Waswo, 2009).

Figure 21 - A *genkan* inside a Japanese home



Source: <https://monkeysamurai.wordpress.com/tag/genkan/> [Accessed 20.10.2013]

¹⁹¹ A *genkan* is also found in public buildings in Japan including schools, dentists and hospitals (Daniels, 2010) and the same slipper etiquette applies in these buildings as in the home.

Although the A-Js in my research can be regarded as *gaijin* when in Japan (see chapter 4), they have gained firsthand experience of “*uchi-ness*” (Makino, 2002, p. 30) in the homes of their Japanese grandparents. In sharp contrast to the A-Js, Richard, managed to cross the boundary between outside and inside the home but he could not participate in the numerous *aisatsu* practices which marked him as foreign (*gaijin*).

7.3 A *gaijin* (foreigner) in Japan

Richard, epitomises a *gaijin* (foreigner) in Japan which is in sharp contrast to his daughter, Eleanor (A-J1 female, aged 12), and the other A-Js, who have been engaging with many traditional Japanese artefacts and cultural practise since birth. Eleanor, his daughter, has had an intense participation in the practices at the London *Hoshūkō* for six years and she said ‘I haven’t missed a day in six years’ (interview, 09.04.2011). She has been travelling to Tokushima for a period of one month nearly every two years with her Japanese-Japanese mother and her brother. This is in stark contrast to her father, Richard, as Eleanor said, ‘my dad doesn’t usually go [to Japan] he can’t really get used to it he has been once but that was only for two weeks’ (*ibid.*).

After interviewing Eleanor I was invited to sit in the garden and have tea with her family: her Japanese mother, her White British father, Richard, and her younger brother who was playing in the garden. Richard supported what Eleanor had told me during the conversational interview. He went into great detail about his experience in Japan from a somewhat exaggerated Orientalist perspective and he said:

he went to Japan in 2003 but it was a total disaster and he never wants to go back again [...]. He admitted that it wasn’t much of a holiday. He also said he couldn’t speak Japanese, he was always called a foreigner and people stared at him (field notes, 09.04.2011).

This caused me to realise that the other A-Js in my research also travel to Japan in the summer for a period of one month often with just their mothers (and siblings) to visit their Japanese grandparents so they too must also have experienced many of the same traditional Japanese artefacts and associated regulatory practices as Eleanor and her father.

On the face of it, Richard’s experiences would seem to support *Nihonjinron*-type rhetoric that Japanese cultural practices are so unique that only the Japanese can participate in them. However, my point is that his daughter Eleanor and the other A-Js in my research do not react in this way at all because these practices and artefacts have been normalised for them. I only use these examples to contrast his outsider (*soto*) experiences of a traditional Japanese home with

the A-Js relatively insider (*uchi*) experiences of a traditional Japanese home. In what follows I will outline the traditional artefacts and their associated practices which Richard found somewhat unusual, I will highlight, where possible, the contrast between his experience and that of his daughter and those of the other A-Js. I will also highlight how these practices and artefacts have been constructed within the ideological narrative of uni-raciality. The practices and artefacts Richard mentioned were: (1) a traditional Japanese toilet, (2) bathing etiquette, (3) slipper etiquette, (4) sleeping on the floor on a futon, and (5) traditional Japanese food¹⁹².

7.3.1 Traditional Japanese toilet

Although traditional Japanese toilets are considered to be largely obsolete in contemporary Japan, Richard and Eleanor experienced such a toilet as is evidenced in my field notes:

Eleanor's father said he went into the toilet [...] he had to ask his wife what to do. [...] His wife told a story about her friend's husband who didn't know how to use a traditional Japanese style toilet. He crouched down the wrong way so he couldn't reach the toilet paper (field notes, 09.04.2011)

Eleanor's mother also joined in the conversation to tell her story about another typical *gaijin* in Japan. Although Eleanor had not mentioned the toilet when she told me about staying at her grandmother's house, she tried to join in the conversation at this point and she said, 'the [traditional Japanese] toilet is very uncomfortable to use as it hurts your legs' (field notes, 09.04.2011). This demonstrates that she has had firsthand experience of Japanese squatting culture which is necessitated when using the toilet (Rosenberger, 1995). Although she finds the experience of a Japanese toilet uncomfortable, it was not marked enough for her to mention in the conversational interview. This could be because she has had repeated firsthand experience of a Japanese-style toilet whereas her father has not. What is more it could be an experience that even some young Japanese people in Japan may not have had.

Figure 22 - A traditional Japanese toilet



Source: http://inventorspot.com/articles/japanese_toilets_toto_5847 [Accessed 20.04.2012]

¹⁹² Richard's experience as a *gaijin* in Japan in 2003 would seem to be remarkably similar to my experience over twenty-five years ago (see chapter 3).

When using a Japanese toilet special toilet slippers (see figure 23) are required so the conversation naturally moved on to slipper etiquette.

7.3.2 Slipper etiquette

Richard said he didn't bother with the slippers (field notes, 09.04.2011), which could be because in Japan it is a relatively complex affair. Slipper etiquette is linked to degrees of cleanliness in different areas of the home (Daniels, 2010). The 'inner sanctum of the home' a *washitsu* (a traditional Japanese style-room) with *tatami* mats¹⁹³ (see section 7.3.4) (Makino, 2002, p. 30-31), conjures up a *Nihonjinron*-type notion of purity so slippers are removed before entering this room.

This is because there is a belief that:

concentric circles go from inside to outside, signifying private to public and pure to impure. Inner tatami rooms have a symbolic purity because no footwear is worn there. These rooms are bounded by areas of wood flooring where slippers are worn - halls, kitchen, veranda [...] (Rosenberger, 1992, p. 109).

Slippers are removed and left outside the sliding door before stepping onto the *tatami* mats. This is because it is believed that slippers will make the mats dirty as they are designed to be sat and slept on (Daniels, 2010). Slippers are, therefore, only worn on wooden floors, which are not designed to sit or sleep on. Furthermore, due to the impure nature of the toilet area, house slippers are removed before using the toilet and toilet slippers (see figure 23) are worn (Daniels, 2010). Before leaving the toilet, the toilet slippers are removed and left in the toilet area and the house slippers are worn again.

Figure 23 - Plastic toilet slippers



Source: <http://thehealthreporter.tv/2011/12/> [Accessed 20.04.2011]

The next artefact which Richard found unusual was the Japanese bath and he was also unaware of Japanese bathing etiquette (field notes, 09.04.2012).

7.3.3 A Japanese bath and bathing etiquette

Richard did not recognise the Japanese bath which could be because it is relatively narrow and deep (see figure 24) with a lid placed on top. He was also unaware of the Japanese notion of bathing etiquette so again his wife had to tell him what to do (field notes, 09.04.2011).

¹⁹³ A *tatami* room contains 'two-inch thick *tatami* mats, approximately three feet wide and six feet long'(Rosemberger, 1992, p. 108), which are traditionally made of straw

Figure 24 - A Japanese bath



Source: <http://japan.weill.org/photos/homestay/2.html> [Accessed 20.04.2012]

This is in contrast to his daughter Eleanor who did not mention bathing etiquette in the conversational interview. However, she did mention that she had seen the animated film, *My Neighbour Totoro* several times (interview, 09.04.2011). Through watching this film, Eleanor will have seen a depiction of a highly traditional Japanese bath and communal bathing practices in the home associated with 1950s rural Japan (see figure 25) which is when the film was set (Yoshioka, 2008).

Figure 25 – The father is having a bath with his two daughters



Source: <http://visocki.wordpress.com/2012/02/01/my-neighbor-totoro/> [Accessed 20.04.2012]

Communal bathing practices, for example, children with their (grand) parents, are thought to strengthen family relationships in Japan (Clark, 1992). In figure 25 the father is relaxing in what looks like an old-fashioned cast-iron bath (*ibid.*) with one of his daughters and the other daughter is washing herself before entering the bath.

In a more contemporary Japanese home, than the one depicted in *My Neighbour Totoro*, bathing etiquette takes place in a relatively small wet room containing a shower and a relatively small deep bath made of stainless steel (Clark, 1992). In Japan the same bathwater is used by different people, so it is customary to wash the body and hair in the relatively small shower prior to entering the bath (Clark, 1992). Clark (1992, p. 89) explains that whilst scrubbing the body with soap and washing the hair, it is usual to sit on a small plastic stool, and I believe that it is also customary to switch the shower off to save water. The shower is then switched on to remove the soap from the body and rinse the hair. A deep bath of exceptionally hot water (from an *etic*

perspective) is, therefore, not used for washing purposes, but it is only used for relaxation purposes, which can be for as long as thirty or forty minutes (*ibid.*).

As previously stated, bathing can be a communal experience in Japan, and the same bathing etiquette is adhered to when bathing in an *onsen* (hot spring). This means that a person's foreignness will be accentuated if s/he fails 'to observe proper, sometimes subtle' etiquette (Clark, 1992, p. 104). This suggests that bathing is constructed as being unique to the Japanese so as to exclude outsiders as was evidenced by White American Debito Arudou (see chapter 4). This is in contrast to Carl's (A-J1 male, aged 18) experience. He told me that he had visited an *onsen* on many occasions in Ōita, Kyūshū when visiting his grandmother (interview, 06.07.2011). An *onsen* is supposed to offer visitors the chance to 'feel Japanese' (Clark, 1992). Carl's experience of bathing in an *onsen* suggests that he will have experienced all the practices associated with an *onsen* in Japan which will have given him the chance to 'feel Japanese'.

Bathing in Japan has also been constructed within a *Nihonjinron*-type ideological narrative and it connotes with 'purity, cleanliness, and bonding through naked association (*hadaka no tsukiai*)' (Clark, 1992, p. 102). The Japanese notion of cleanliness is, therefore, not only linked to slipper etiquette but also to daily bathing which is considered to be a centuries old feature of Japanese culture (*ibid.*). Keeping the body clean has become associated with official Japaneseness, and it has been constructed as 'one of the national characteristics of the Japanese' (*ibid.*).

Next I will focus on a *washitsu* (traditional Japanese room) (see chapter 1) because Richard found the practice of sleeping on the floor on a *futon* a marked experience (see figure 26).

7.3.4 *Washitsu* (Japanese-style room)

Richard complained about what was to him an uncomfortable experience of sleeping on a *futon* as he said:

His wife was really upset at leaving her family but he couldn't wait to leave [Japan]. He complained about the hard pillows and futons. To support his idea that Japanese futons and pillows are uncomfortable he said he saw a woman at the airport carrying a Tempur mattress and pillow¹⁹⁴ (field notes, 09.04.2011).

This is in contrast to Yukiko (A-J1 female, aged 16), who has been sleeping on a *futon* in her grandmother's traditional house in Toyota City as she said:

[...] my grandma's house is really old and really rickety coz that's just where she got her house when she got married [...] and the *tatami* they have like really weird bugs in there so like um I sleep on the floor and when I wake up I've got so many bites it's horrible [...] (interview, 21.4.2011)

¹⁹⁴ These items are made of memory foam which conform to the shape of a person's body (<http://uk.tempur.com/>, 2014).

It seems to be the bugs that live in the *tatami* mats that would appear to be particularly marked for Yukiko rather than the practice of sleeping on the floor on a *futon* in a *washitsu*.

A *washitsu* dates back to feudal times (Sand, 1998; Waswo, 2009). It is customary for guests to sleep in a *washitsu* on a *futon* (*ibid.*) placed directly on the *tatami* mats (Rosenberger, 2009). Traditional Japanese pillows (*makura*), which are small, hard, and may be filled with buckwheat hull, are also used. Eleanor's father may have found this practice uncomfortable because a *futon* in a Japanese context differs significantly from its British counterpart. I mention this not to reproduce the *Nihonjinron*-type binary of western *yo* versus Japanese *wa* culture (see chapter 1) but to highlight that the A-Js have not been engaging with the superficial British version but with the authentic Japanese version.

Figure 26 - A *washitsu* with futons at night



Source: <http://www.hotels4u.com/Blog/National-Bed-Month-Different-Beds-Around-the-World.html>
[Accessed 20.12.2012]

A futon found in the UK has been customised to British housing norms. It is thicker than its much thinner Japanese counterpart and it comes with a wooden base for ventilation purposes. During the day it can be made into a sofa with the wooden base. However, in Japan it is folded and stored in a large cupboard so that the room can be used as a sitting/dining room with a low table, and thin cushions (*zabuton*) to sit directly on the *tatami* mats (Waswo, 2009) (see figure 27). In order to air a Japanese *futon*, it is hung out on the balcony¹⁹⁵ and it can be beaten with a stick made from bamboo called a *futon tataki*. This suggests a futon and its associated practices differ considerably between the UK and Japan.

¹⁹⁵ The majority of Japanese homes have balconies for hanging out washing and *futons*.

Figure 27 - A *washitsu* by day



Source: http://joshnjaxnijaapan.blogspot.co.uk/2010_11_01_archive.html [Accessed 20.12.2012]

As stated in chapter 1, a *washitsu* is also associated with traditional Japanese food (*washoku*) which Richard also mentioned.

7.3.5 *Washoku* (traditional Japanese food)

The biggest contrast between Richard and the A-Js is in regard to *washoku*. Richard found much of the traditional Japanese food unpalatable with the exception of the rice and he said that he couldn't wait to get on the plane to eat Western food (field notes, 09.04.2011) whereas for the A-Js it is something they have enjoyed eating since birth. All the A-Js made reference to traditional Japanese food¹⁹⁶ in the conversational interviews and said that they enjoyed eating it in Japan. No one made reference to the wide variety of more contemporary Western-type food (*yoshoku*) also widely available in Japan (Cwiertka, 2006).

The A-Js also tended to eat traditional Japanese food in the home in this country. Both Masako (A-J1 female, aged 16) and Andrea (A-J1 female, aged 12) even said that they seemed to prefer it to so-called British food:

Masako: my mum doesn't really cook English food so when I go to my English grandma's house she makes us roast and stuff and it's OK but I don't like it that much so I think I prefer Japanese food (interview, 07.06.2011).

Andrea: I think I prefer Japanese food to English food [...] my mum cooks at home so she cooks Japanese food so we don't really eat English food that much (interview, 26.06.2011).

Traditional Japanese food, as in other countries, is a 'critical component of national culture' (Cwiertka, 2006, p. 178), which in Japan means that it is ideologically linked to the narrative of *Nihonjinron*. According to Cwiertka (2006, p. 175) *washoku* represents a sense of 'timeless continuity and authenticity', linked to a distant past. Bestor (2011, p. 275) expands on this idea when he states, traditional Japanese food represents 'cultural symbolism, ideas about tradition, and other aspects of Japanese food culture, belief, and food lore seen [...] as stable and relatively unchanging'. In contemporary Japan, Japanese food is represented as a relatively stable 'national icon' which is considered more symbolic for young people than the Japanese flag

¹⁹⁶ This is in contrast to one of the young people who attended a Bengali complementary school who stated that the food in Bangladesh was 'nasty' (Blackledge and Creese, 2010, p. 175).

(Cwiertka, 2006, p. 175). This is because, as in other countries, food is used to symbolise a nation which is a form of 'culinary nation making' (*ibid.* p. 177) and a major component of which in Japan would seem to be rice (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993; Cwiertka, 2006; Ishige, 2009).

7.3.6 Japanese rice

Some of the A-Js even mentioned Japanese rice: (1) Nicky (A-J1 female, aged 16) said, 'we have rice every day' (interview, 16.05.2011). (2) Albert (A-J 1 male, aged 14) even remembers eating rice while living in Japan as a young child as he wrote, 'I still have vivid memories of going to Japanese *hoikuen* (crèche) and eating lunch there rice and other fried stuff' (written account 14.03.2011). (3) Masako (A-J1 female, aged 16) even has rice for breakfast in London which would seem to mark her as an outsider among her British based friends as she said, 'my friends think it's a bit strange that I eat rice for breakfast' (interview, 07.06.2011). I found the mentioning of rice quite strange at the time but I now realise the importance of rice in Japan.

According to Ohnuki-Tierney (1993, pp. 4-5) Japanese rice has become 'a dominant metaphor of the Japanese' and its importance is both culturally and linguistically marked. Rice dates back to feudal times as rice production was at the heart of the feudal economy and rice was used as a currency to pay tax (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993; Ishige, 2009). Japanese rice was considered to be 'a pure or even sacred medium of exchange' (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993, p. 9). According to Ishige (2009, p. 101) rice is 'a sacred grain in which the divine spirit dwells' so there is a belief that the consumption of rice will give those who consume it 'sacred energy'.

Japanese rice is linguistically marked because the word *meshi* (*gohan* is the polite form) does not only mean a meal but it also means cooked rice (as does *gohan*) (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993), which highlights the centrality of rice to a *washoku* meal. Japanese rice is served in a small bowl separate from other traditional Japanese food items (Ishige, 2009) and eaten with chopsticks. When Japanese rice is served as an accompaniment to Non-Japanese food, for example, what is referred to as 'Japanese curry', カレーライス (literally curry rice), the Japanese words (飯 *meshi* or ご飯 *gohan*) are not used. It is referred to as rice, *raisu* (ライス), written with the angular *katakana* rather than *kanji* (and/or *hiragana*) to emphasise its foreignness, and it is eaten with a spoon rather than chopsticks (Goldstein-Gidoni, 2005). This is in spite of the fact that 'Japanese curry' is one of the most popular dishes in Japan, which is demonstrated by the wide variety of instant curry available in shops in Japan (Cwiertka, 2006, p. 161).

Although rice is eaten in many countries, Japanese rice is differentiated from the rice eaten in China and the rice exported to Japan from California, USA. It is emphasised that Japanese rice is short-grain whereas Chinese rice is long-grain (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993, p. 8). According to Ohnuki-Tierney (1993, p. 136) Japanese home grown short-grain rice is differentiated from Californian foreign grown short-grain rice even though the two are virtually the same. *Nihonjinron*-type expressions such as 'the *pure*, "chemical-free" domestic rice', 'rice paddies that *purify* Japanese air and represent the *pure* Japanese past without contamination from foreign influence' are used (*ibid.*, p. 136). The notion of a unique 'pure' Japanese grown rice set in opposition with 'impure' foreign grown rice, would seem to be implicit within the concept of Japanese short-grain glutinous rice grown on Japanese soil. This suggests that the *Nihonjinron* notion of uniqueness is even attributed to the concept of Japanese rice.

Many traditional Japanese food items accompany Japanese rice and below is a brief summary of just some of the many my A-J research participants mentioned.

7.3.6.1 Traditional Japanese food items associated with rice

Dan (A-J2 male, aged 15) mentioned that he ate *furikake* (rice seasoning) (see figure 28) and *nori* (dried seaweed) (see figure 30) with rice in this country as he said, 'my dad used to cook when I was younger [...] it was often just rice, *furikake* and *nori* when I was young to just get me into Japanese food' (interview, 20.06.2011).

Figure 28 - *Furikake* (rice seasoning)



Source: <http://www.asianfoodgrocer.com/category/furikake-seasoning> [Accessed 18.08.2011]

Furikake is a dried mixed seasoning sprinkled over rice and it comes in many flavours; the one in figure 28 is seaweed (green) and egg (yellow) flavour. Children are encouraged to eat *furikake* because it is considered to be healthy food so contemporary *anime* characters, such as *Doraemon* (see figure 29) are used on the packaging (see section 7.4.1).

Figure 29 - *Doraemon furikake*



Source: <http://www.ebay.com/itm/DORAEMON-FURIKAKE-JAPANESE-SEASONING-ONRICE-EGG-SEAWEED-BONITO-SALMON-FLAVOR-/251260280321> [Accessed 18.08.2011]

Nori is dried seaweed used to wrap around rice, fish and vegetables in a sandwich style.

Figure 30 - *Nori* (dried seaweed)



Source: <http://www.trulyorganicfoods.com/certified-raw-organic-nori-50-sheets.php> [Accessed 18.08.2011]

Nicky (A-J1 female, aged 16) told me that she eats *oden* (Japanese stew) (see figure 31) at home as an accompaniment to Japanese rice as she said, 'we have rice every day and then we have something on the side like I'm not sure like um what's it called like do you know *oden*' (interview, 16.05.2011).

Figure 31 - *Oden* (fish cake stew)



Source: <http://blog.umamimart.com/2009/03/oden-japans-ultimate-comfort-food/> [Accessed 06.05.2015]

It is impossible for Nicky to translate *oden* into English because there is no real English equivalent. In Japan *oden* is pervasive in the winter months and it is a Japanese version of comfort food (Shizuoka Gourmet, 2010). *Oden* contains a variety of marked Japanese ingredients including: *daikon* (Japanese long white radish) (see figure 32), *konyaku* (Devil's Tongue plant) (see figure 33), *chikuwa* (made from ground fish) (see figure 34) and *kombu* (a type of seaweed) (see figure 35).

Figure 32 - *Daikon* (Japanese radish)



Source: http://www.4to40.com/photo_gallery/picture.asp?pid=2344andphoto=White_Radish.jpганdcategory=Fruits_and_Vegetables [Accessed 20.06.2013]

Figure 33 - *Konyaku* (Devil Tongue's plant)



Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Konnyaku.jpg> [Accessed 20.06.2013]

Figure 34 - *Chikuwa* (fish)



Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chikuwa> [Accessed 20.06.2013]

Figure 35 - *Kombu* (a type of seaweed)



Source: <https://cookpad.com/us/recipes/142657-for-cold-winter-days-☆-piping-hot-oden-hot-pot> [Accessed 15.06.2014]

Nicky eats *oden* at home so for her these traditional Japanese-marked food items appear relatively unmarked whereas from Richard's *etic* perspective they would appear to be marked.

To further complicate matters, Japanese food is also available to buy in Britain. The Japanese-marked food items in Japan can vary significantly from the Japanese food consumed in this country, for which Cwiertka (2006) offers the following explanation. She points out that traditional

Japanese food (*washoku*) came to this country in two waves (see chapter 1). The first wave of *washoku* arrived in Britain in the 1970s. It was prepared by experienced Japanese chefs for the Japanese business elites, and it was expensive. The second wave of *washoku* came to Britain in the 1990s. It was largely prepared by Non-Japanese chefs for Non-Japanese, and it was much cheaper. The second wave of '*washoku*', as with food from all countries, was adapted to so-called British tastes (Cwierka, 2006; Kubota 2014), for example, vegetarian sushi with avocado and *sushi* with brown rice as opposed to white rice. However, in an attempt to differentiate authentic *washoku* from inauthentic *washoku*, in 2007 the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF) established a Japanese restaurant certification system (Kubota, 2014, p. 19). In 2013 an Officially Accredited Authentic Japanese Restaurant guide was published in Japanese and English by the Ministry of Health and Welfare for distribution in the UK. According to Kubota (2014, p. 24), such an accreditation could be seen as an attempt to essentialise Japanese food culture in line with a *Nihonjinron* binarised line of thinking with the notion of authentic *washoku* versus inauthentic *washoku*. In other words, it was a type of hegemonic food standardisation instigated by MAFF in Japan (*ibid.*). I make this point in order to highlight that the A-Js may well eat this type of so-called inauthentic Japanese food outside the home in restaurants in this country, but it is mainly so-called authentic Japanese food that they have been eating since birth.

This second wave of inauthentic *washoku* in the UK coincided with what is referred to as a 'cool Japan' campaign instigated by Japan's Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) in the 1990s (Nagata, 2012) (see chapter 1). In order to support the changing ideological needs of Japan after the economic bubble burst in the 1990s, the image of Japan was transformed from that of a manufacturing nation in the 1970s and 1980s to that of a 'cool nation' (Sugimoto, 2014). In a public relations strategy Japan was promoted as a 'soft power' both in Japan and overseas (Nagata, 2012). Many traditional cultural *wa* icons associated with Japan of the 1970s and 1980s were re-presented alongside many more contemporary cultural icons of the 1990s such as *anime* and *manga* (Sugimoto, 2014). However, even this notion of 'cool Japan' would seem to be constructed through *Nihonjinron*-type appeals to cultural essentialism as is highlighted by Sugimoto (2014, p. 303):

The very fact that Cool Japan is approved by Japanese government and business indicates that Cool Japan culture [...] expands political and economic interests while allowing the masses to engage in acceptable diversions. In tune with Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's 2006 slogan *Utsukushii kuni Nippon* (Japan as beautiful nation), one may even suggest that the Cool Japan campaign tacitly fosters cultural nationalism. Underneath

the Cool Japan model lies the assumption that Japanese culture encapsulates exceptionally unique characteristics that no other culture has.

Sugimoto (*ibid.*, 304) comes to the rather tentative conclusion that the new concept of 'cool Japan' can be positioned as a new stereotype formation, possibly called postmodern *Nihonjinron*.

I make this point to highlight that although the contemporary culture of Japan is viewed in a 'playful' and 'fun-loving' light in the 2000s (Sugimoto, 2014), which the A-Js have also experienced (see section 7.4), they also experience the regulatory nature of Japanese cultural practices as highlighted in chapter 6 and in this chapter. One such practice is mealtime etiquette.

7.3.6.2 Japanese mealtime etiquette

Although some of the A-Js did not make direct reference to mealtime etiquette in the conversational interviews, many did mention that they had attended Japanese school when visiting Japan¹⁹⁷. Masako (A-J1 female, aged 16); Yukiko (A-J1 female, aged 16), and Dan (A-J2 male, aged 15) made explicit reference to school meals. Masako (A-J1 female aged 16) explained that she had experienced lunch time in primary school in Japan (see figure 36) which is different to that in England:

it's like at lunch time there's like specialist people who are chosen and they have to go down to the kitchen and bring all the food [to the classroom] and then they serve it to people so it's not like normal school dinners in England where everyone like goes to the canteen to get their food but it's like you're a little group and you serve each other (interview, 07.06.2011).

Dan (A-J2 male, aged 12) said that he had participated in such a practice:

I remember having to do the cooking to make the cooking like serving the food and everything taking it back I remember that (interview, 14.05.2011)

In a Japanese school, pupils eat in the classroom and the food is served by the pupils themselves who wear white hats and aprons (Harlan, 2013). What is more, everyone is expected to eat the same Japanese food (*ibid.*).

¹⁹⁷ For example, Dan (A-J2 male, aged 15); Eleanor (A-J1 female, aged 12); Albert (A-J1 male, aged 14); Carl (A-J1 female, aged 18); Naomi (A-J1 female, aged 13); Masako (A-J1 female, aged 16); Yukiko (A-J1 female, aged 16); and Nicky (A-J1 female, aged 16).

Figure 36 - Primary school pupils performing mealtime duties



Source: http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/on-japans-school-lunch-menu-a-healthy-meal-ade-from-scratch/2013/01/26/5f31d208-63a2-11e2-85f5-a8a9228e55e7_story.html [Accessed 14.05.2014]

By attending Japanese mainstream school, the A-Js will have experienced mealtime *aisatsu*, which involve both linguistic and bodily practices because it is in the school where it is mainly inculcated in Japan (Ide, 2009). Linguistic practices involve saying *itadakimasu* (I humbly receive) which is *kenjogo* (humble language) (Ide, 2009) and it is used to express deference before eating the meal. At the same time it is customary to bow the head and put the hands together in a prayer like gesture, which is equivalent to saying prayers before meals. After finishing the meal *gochisosama deshita* is said in the same way as a way of saying thank you for the meal. The suffix *sama*, is used to show respect to those who made the food. The 'patterned, routine usage of *aisatsu*' which routinely takes place at mealtimes in mainstream schools in Japan would seem to be a way to regulate politeness by extending 'care and courtesy to others in a pre-established manner' (Ide, 2009, p. 23).

To sum up, many of the A-Js have been eating what is considered to be traditional Japanese food in both England and Japan since birth. Such food items would seem to be an official representation of traditional Japaneseness in contemporary Japan (Cwierka, 2006), which suggests that they are part of the ideological narrative of *Nihonjinron*. Although Japanese food items are readily available in restaurants in London, I argue that it is the aggregation of marked Japanese food items together with the associated *aisatsu* practices that would seem to differentiate the Japanese food consumed by my research participants from that consumed in restaurants in this country.

In this section I have demonstrated that Eleanor's father, Richard could be considered to be a stereotypical *gaijin* (foreigner) in the *Nihonjinron* sense of the word, which would serve to highlight the A-Js' relative insider status in Japan. I have also demonstrated that this insider status has been achieved through their intense engagement with a dense network of traditional Japanese

artefacts and *aisatsu* practices inculcated in the Japanese home, school and wider community. This dense network of traditional artefacts and practices has not only been 'conceptually standardized as normative knowledge' in Japanese school textbooks, but also in the Japanese home and wider society, which results in an essentialist understanding of Japanese culture (Kubota, 2014, p. 23). Such an understanding is achieved through 'the emphasis on the uniqueness' of Japanese culture (*ibid.*). This suggests that the A-Js have been inculcated with Japanese standardised norms of behaviour and language in the same way as Japanese young people in Japan.

In the next section I will show how the A-Js have also been acquiring Japanese insider status through their intense engagement with authentic Japanese popular culture.

7.4 Japanese insider status, popular culture and tradition

Not only have the A-Js acquired Japanese insider status by engaging with traditional Japaneseness at *Hoshūkō*, in the Japanese home and the wider community in Japan and in the UK, but they have also been acquiring it through their even more intense engagement with authentic Japanese popular culture. For example, Albert (A-J1 male, aged 14) plays Japanese games on his authentic Japanese version of the Nintendo Wii and Game Boy; he reads authentic Japanese *manga* (comics) as does Rodger (A-J1 male aged 14). Both Eleanor (A-J1 female, aged 12) and Nicky (A-J1 female, aged 16) said they had watched all the Studio Ghibili animated films. Masako (A-J1 female, aged 16) said she used to watch Pokémon. Such was the intensity of Masako's engagement with the authentic Pokémon *anime* that it seemed to give her outsider status among her peers in London as she said:

I watched *Pokémon* in Japanese so it's a bit strange when people talk about it [...] I know about *Pokémon* but I don't know what people are talking about when it's English [...] it's all different when English people are talking about it (interview, 07.06.2011).

In what follows I will describe and analyse two *anime*: (1) *Doraemon*, and (2) *Chibi Maruko-Chan*. This is because Eleanor (A-J1 female, aged 12), Nicky (A-J1 female, aged 16) and Yukiko (A-J1 female, aged 16) said that they used to watch these *anime*. Furthermore, the storylines in these *anime* revolve around the home and the school in 1970s Japan, which means that all the traditional artefacts and *aisatsu* practices previously mentioned in my thesis and a great many more are seemingly naturally interwoven throughout. These two *anime* are popular in Japan which suggests that they are imbued with the widespread values and beliefs in Japanese society (Lee, 2000). Although the storylines of these *anime* would seem to depict the entirety of the

Japanese 'national character stereotypes', including those linked to gender, class, age and 'race', upon which the *Nihonjinron* of the 1970s relied so heavily (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1995, p. 238), I will only focus on 'race' because, as this thesis has demonstrated, it is this which affects the entirety of my A-J categorisation.

7.4.1 *Doraemon* anime

Doraemon is a long-running storyline of over forty years making it one of the most popular storylines of post war Japan (Shiraishi, 2000, p. 287). It first appeared in *manga* format in 1969 (Chavrez, 2013) prior to being released in *anime* format in 1973 (Anime News Network, 2014). The two main characters are *Doraemon* (a blue robotic cat from the future) and Nobita (a rather stereotypical ten-year-old Japanese boy). Nobita's relatively traditional Japanese house (see figure 37) is a place 'whose [Japanese] cultural logic is fairly specific'¹⁹⁸, (Allison, 2006, p. 196). It is central to the *anime* because the story revolves around Nobita's everyday life experiences (Shiraishi, 2000).

Figure 37 – Nobita's house



Source: [http://doraemon.wikia.com/wiki/Nobita's Residence?file=Nobitahouseon2015movie.PNG](http://doraemon.wikia.com/wiki/Nobita's_Residence?file=Nobitahouseon2015movie.PNG) [Accessed 23.05.2015]

Nobita, who is portrayed as being somewhat incompetent (Allison, 2006), lives with his mother, father and *Doraemon*, in an imagined residential area in Tokyo (Shirashii, 2000). *Doraemon* has both a pocket from which he can produce gadgets to help Nobita solve the problems of everyday life (Shiraishi, 2000) and a *dokodemo* (wherever you like) door (Sugimoto, 2014) to travel backwards and forwards in time. It is this ability to transcend time and space, which is particularly appealing to the imaginations of children, and travelling forwards in time gives the *anime* a somewhat futuristic air (Shirashii, 2000). *Doraemon* reflects Japan of the 1970s which

like Nobita, was still viewed by its citizens as riddled with "lacks". The country accordingly pinned its financial viability on mechanical inventions and electronic contraptions, and its cultural identity on markers rooted to the grounded locale and family traditions of "Japan" (Allison, 2006, p. 196).

¹⁹⁸ Allison believes that this could be the reason why *Doraemon* did not appear on American television. It wasn't until July 2014 that it was first aired on American television and many of the Japanese cultural references were edited out (Anime News Network, 2014).

It is some of the 'family traditions of "Japan" ' as represented in this *anime* which are the focus of my discussion.

Travelling backwards in time would seem to give the *anime* an air of nostalgia (*natsukashii*): which can be defined as 'Japan's traditional warm emotions and feelings' (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 22). This is because even more traditional representations of Japaneseness can be depicted. Figure 38 shows Nobita with his grandmother in a traditional *tatami*-matted room with sliding doors. As his grandmother is no longer alive this experience highlights Nobita's yearning to relive those past experiences of when he was a young child in a relatively safe environment in which his grandmother was seemingly central. By such a return to the past the image of an uncomplicated bygone era is represented which at the same time gives the impression that traditional Japanese artefacts and practices are seemingly stable and unchanging.

Figure 38 – Nobita and his grandmother



Source: <http://doraemonpluplus.angelfire.com/grandma.html> [Accessed 23.06.2015]

Allison (2006, p.195) stresses that 'Doraemon is set in a localized Japan that bears many distinctive features of a Japanese world (tatami mats, chopsticks, sliding doors, a Japanese household)'. However, a representation of Western (*yo*) culture is also interwoven in the storyline alongside the more traditional Japanese (*wa*) culture. In Nobita's house his family is depicted using a western-style dining table and chairs at mealtimes (see figure 39) which are commonplace in contemporary middle-class Japanese homes (Rosenberger, 1995). However, the food is traditionally Japanese rather than western, which means that the use of chopsticks is required. In addition, a traditional Japanese sliding door is still visible on the right.

Figure 39 – Nobita and his family using Western table and chairs



Source: <http://en.rocketnews24.com/2014/05/12/doraemon-animes-visual-script-changes-for-u-s-tv-detailed/>
[Accessed 20.05.2015]

In spite of this representation of Western (*yo*) culture there is an even greater emphasis on traditional Japaneseness in Nobita's and his friends' houses (Allison, 2006). Nobita's room is similar to a *washitsu* (traditional Japanese room) in that it has sliding doors and *tatami* mats (see figure 40). This means that the floor based culture of kneeling on the floor; the practice of not wearing slippers on *tatami* mats, and the practice of sleeping on a traditional Japanese *futon* can quite naturally be depicted.

Figure 40 - Nobita, Shizuka and Doraemon kneeling on the *tatami* mats in Nobita's bedroom



Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/93235409@N06/14298291257/> [Accessed 23.06.2014]

As the story also takes place in 'the mundane setting of school' (Allison 2006, p. 195), educational practices are depicted in a light-hearted way. The problems of learning *kanji* and completing *kokugo* (Japanese for native speakers) homework are highlighted. Nobita 'is constantly scolded by his mother, who is depicted as an adult authority figure (Allison, 2006, p. 195), for not doing his homework' (Shiraishi, 2000, p. 293) and for obtaining what are considered to be low marks in *kanji* tests. Nobita is struggling with learning *kanji*, so formulaic expressions linked to school such as *gambaru* (perseverance) and *ganman suru* (endure a difficult situation) (see chapter 5) are repeatedly heard. This depiction of the problems Nobita has with completing his homework could be because the *Doraemon* anime '[a]s with any art form, does not simply reflect society, [it] problematizes aspects of the dominant social culture' (Napier, 2001, p. 23/24). However, I believe that this *anime* does not really reflect Japanese society as it is but would seem to be a stereotypical representation of a Japanese society stuck in some sort of *Nihonjinron*-type time

warp. What is more, by problematising the dominant social culture of society, the *Doraemon* anime would at the same time appear to be reifying it.

Not only are Japanese artefacts and their associated *aisatsu* practices represented in this *anime*, but also Japanese beliefs. The belief that Japan is both racially and linguistically homogenous is reproduced. As Nobita's house is set in an imaginary area in suburban Tokyo (Shirashii, 2000), the standardised Tokyo dialect tends to be the norm. What is more the localised world of this *anime*, would seem to be a world in which only the racially 'pure' Japanese exist as '*Doraemon* interacts with very Japanese-looking friends' (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 21).

Not only does the *Doraemon* character appear in the *anime* but it also appears on other products with which the Anglo-Japanese young people also engage. As illustrated in chapter 5, *Doraemon* appears in educational material including the textbook used in the *Nihongo* class. During my classroom observation of young A-J2 pupils (approximately 7-8 years old) at *Hoshūkō*, I noticed that an A-J2 boy had a Japanese box style pencil case upon which was the image of *Doraemon* (field notes, 12.03.2011).

Figure 41 – A *Doraemon* pencil case



Source: <http://pencilboxparade.blogspot.co.uk/2014/11/doraemon-pencil-case.html>
[Accessed 20.03.2011]

Sawako (J-J mother of three A-J children) told me that her eldest son, Rodger (A-J1 male, aged 14) has had an intense engagement with *Doraemon manga* (comic) (interview, 12.06.2010).

Figure 42 - *Doraemon manga*



Source: http://doraemon.mangawiki.org/read-manga/Doraemon-Manga-Raw/Doraemon_Vol_01_RAW
[Accessed 30.07.2011]

As illustrated in this chapter, *Doraemon* also appears on *furikake* packaging (see figure 29) to encourage children to eat what is considered to be healthy food in Japan¹⁹⁹. This would seem to suggest that the character of *Doraemon* is a sort of ‘soft power’ tool that is used to softly control Japanese children. What is significant is that the A-Js are aware of this pervasive Japanese cartoon character and many are also being inadvertently inculcated with behavioural and linguistic norms through their engagement with the *Doraemon anime*, *manga* and textbook.

Japanese standardised norms of behaviour and beliefs were further reinforced for Eleanor, Nicky and Yukiko through their intense engagement with the *Chibi Maruko-Chan anime*. Although this *anime* is more recent than the *Doraemon anime*, it would seem to be an even more traditional representation of Japaneseness.

7.4.2 *Chibi Maruko-Chan anime*

Chibi (small) *Maruko* (Japanese girl’s name) *Chan* (Japanese suffix) appeared in *manga* format in 1986 and in *anime* format in 1990 but like *Doraemon* it is also set in the 1970s (Lee, 2000). This is because it is a highly autobiographical account of the childhood experiences of the author, who was born in 1965 (Lee, 2000). It would seem to be closer to a Japanese version of “reality” (Lee, 2000) than *Doraemon* because there is no magic involved. However, ‘there is [still] an unmistakable air of nostalgia about the program’ (Lee, 2000, p. 199). It is such appeals to essentialist nostalgia (*natsukashii*) that would seem to make it extremely popular family viewing, so much so that in 1991 it ‘broke the all-time record for a television *anime* with a rating of 39.9 percent in the Kanto region’ (Lee, 2000, p. 195).

According to Lee (2000) this *anime* is seen as representing the changing Japanese family as he contrasts this *anime* with that of *Sazae-san* which corresponds to family life in 1950s to 1960s Japan (see chapter 3), which he believes represents an even more traditional view of family life. In order to represent the changing Japanese family, Lee points out that in *Chibi Maruko-Chan* there is a hint ‘at the breakdown of that traditional family structure’ as the family argue during New Year preparations (Lee, 2000, p. 198). However, I believe that this *anime* is also inadvertently depicting an even more traditional family life when compared to *Doraemon*. In contrast to *Doraemon* where a nuclear family is depicted with Nobita being an only child (Allison, 2006), *Chibi Maruko-Chan* depicts a more traditional extended family as it is a story of a young

¹⁹⁹ *Doraemon* has overt links with Japanese politics. In 2008 the character was adopted by the Japanese Foreign Ministry as the first *anime* ambassador to promote Japanese culture abroad (Chavez, 2013). *Doraemon* was also used in the bid for the 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games (*ibid.*).

girl who lives with her grandparents, her parents and her older sister in a relatively traditional Japanese house (Lee, 2000).

Figure 43 - *Chibi Maruko-Chan's house*



Source: <http://weheartit.com/tag/chibi%20maruko%20chan> [Accessed 16.07.2014]

As many episodes are set entirely within the family home (Lee, 2000) the home would appear to be even more central to *Chibi Maruko-Chan* than *Doraemon*. In contrast to Nobita's home, where his family use a Western table and chairs at mealtimes, a traditional Japanese setting is depicted. In figure 44 Maruko's extended family are eating together in a *washitsu* (traditional Japanese room). They are kneeling on the floor on Japanese cushions (*zabuton*) placed directly on *tatami* mats. The table is set with a *washoku*-type meal, as white Japanese rice is served in small ceramic bowls and chopsticks are in place. Mealtime etiquette associated with the body is depicted as they are sitting with the correct demeanour, straight backs with their hands placed directly on their laps, waiting patiently to start eating. They also constantly use the correct *aisatsu* formulae of *itadakimasu* (I humbly receive) and *gochiso sama deshita* (thank you for the meal).

Figure 44 - *Chibi Maruko-Chan's family eating in traditional Japanese style*



Source: <http://weheartit.com/tag/chibi%20maruko%20chan> [Accessed 17.08.2014]

Many more examples of traditional Japanese artefacts and everyday *aisatsu* practices appear in both *anime* due to the relative centrality of the home. Such everyday *aisatsu* practices highlight the interconnectivity of traditional artefacts together with the sociolinguistic and sociocultural and/or bodily nature of *aisatsu* practices. For example, the linguistic formulae *aisatsu* (1) *tadaima* (I'm home) is repeatedly used by the the children returning home from school, and (2) *okaeri*

(welcome back) (Ide, 2009) is often used by the mother greeting the children who have returned home. These two linguistic *aisatsu* formulae implicate the *genkan* when coming and going from the house and the correct slipper etiquette. The same is true with the linguistic formulae *aisatsu* (3) *ohayō* (good morning), and (4) *oyasumi* (good night) (Ide, 2009); which implicate the practices of sleeping on the floor on a *futon* with a traditional *makura* pillow in a *washitsu* (see figure 45) and the practice of storing the *futon* in a cupboard to name but a few of the traditional practices associated with *futons*.

Figure 45 - *Chibi Maruko-Chan* sleeping on a *futon*



Source: <http://weheartit.com/tag/chibi%20maruko%20chan> [Accessed 22.05.2014]

Honorific suffixes, *chan* and *kun*, are interspersed throughout the two *anime* (see section 6.3.2). *Chan* is in the title *Chibi Maruko-Chan*. In *Doraemon* the main character Nobita is referred to as Nobita *kun* and a female character Shizuka is referred to as Shizuka *chan*. The term *sensei* is also routinely used in the context of the school.

The repeated use of formulaic *aisatsu* expressions in these two *anime* highlight the pervasive nature of *aisatsu* practices in the home (McVeigh, 2002a). They also highlight that, 'an entire day may start with the *aisatsu* and end with the *aisatsu*, [and] a season or a year can be bounded with *aisatsu*' (Ide, 2009, p. 21). What is more:

Many daily micro rituals concerning how we treat the body are actually practices that socialize and discipline us. Repeated in an everyday manner [...] these patterned activities form linkages within an individual's mind between what we feel and what we should do or think (McVeigh, 2014, p. 57).

In line with Sugimoto's notion of friendly authoritarianism, *Chibi Maruko-Chan* is also rather tongue in cheek as it is 'a satire on the ideal of innocent family life' (*ibid.* p. 198). At the same time, however, it represents a relatively conservative image of traditional family life in which all the characters are seemingly racially Japanese. The character of *Chibi Maruko-Chan* was also pervasive in Japan in 1991 as is evidenced by Levinson (1993) who points out that:

The summer of 1991 will forever be associated with a tiny girl in a straw hat, print dress, and zigzag haircut. The face of Chibi-Maruko-Chan, a diminutive, cartoon character, was plastered across the nation with all the restraint and subtlety of a North Korean publicity drive. Little sister was watching you. The innocent victims were sprayed with Chibi Maruko-Chan endorsement [sic] ads, drowned in a flood of Chibi Maruko-Chan tie-in products before being battered into submission by the Chibi Maruko-Chan song (Levinson, 1993).

It would appear that *Chibi Maruko-chan*, like *Doraemon*, is used to softly control Japanese children in Japan. I, like McVeigh (2000, p. 186), believe that children in Japan are not taught to conform 'for an Orwellian Big Brother' but for a relatively 'friendly and neighbourly' little sister, *Chibi Maruko-Chan*. The same is true for Eleanor, Nicky and Yukiko because even though they live in Britain they have had an intense engagement with this *anime*.

The values and beliefs in these two *anime* are represented through traditional family life in which *aisatsu* practices and traditional artefacts are prominent. Such a portrayal of family life is depicted through rose-tinted *Nihonjinron*-type spectacles to portray 'the ideal of "childhood" ' (Shiraishi, 2000, p. 290). Through their engagement with these two *anime*, Eleanor, Nicky and Yukiko are being exposed to the notion that only the Japanese engage with traditional Japaneseness as in both *anime* all the characters are seemingly racially Japanese. This suggests that the implicit message underpinning these two *anime* is that Japan is racially and linguistically homogenous and those who are not racially Japanese do not engage with Japanese language and cultural practices. At the same time, however, Eleanor, Nicky and Yukiko are also being repeatedly inculcated with the same insider (*uchi*) notions of Japaneseness on the same media platform as Japanese young people in Japan even though they are considered to be outsiders (*soto*) by many.

Next, I will explain how both *manga* and *anime* would seem to have been constructed within a *Nihonjinron*-type metanarrative. I also mention *manga* because *manga* pre-date *anime* and those aimed at children are conceptually linked. This is because both are pictocentric, and the same characters often appear on both media platforms (Napier, 2005) as is the case with *Chibi Maruko-chan*, and *Doraemon*. I will also discuss why these *anime* would seem to be an ideal platform upon which to represent storylines that depict the ideological narrative of *Nihonjinron* by drawing upon the Japanese concept of *natsukashii* (nostalgia). Then I rather tentatively attempt to explain the representation of the traditional on a contemporary media platform with Stuart Hall's understanding of popular culture.

7.4.3 Tradition, *natsukashii* (nostalgia) and popular culture

In order to construct *manga* and *anime* as being somehow unique to Japan, their link to a distant past has been emphasised. As *manga* pre-dates *anime*, they can be traced as far back as the tenth century to 'comic animal scrolls' (Napier, 2005, p. 21). In line with dominant ideologies, the

wa/yo binary is implicated: *anime* (and *manga*) are used to depict Japanese *wa* culture as 'pictocentric' (Napier, 2005) in contrast to western *yo* culture which is 'logocentric' and 'phonocentric' (Sugimoto, 2014, p. 303), even though many believe that Japanese *anime* (and *manga*) were originally based on American animation of the 1950s (Gravett, 2004).

The storylines of *Doraemon* and *Chibi Maruko-Chan* could be seen as being popular in Japan even among adults because they both emphasise traditional Japaneseness through appeals to nostalgia (*natsukashii*). This can be explained by Ivy who states:

The Hybrid realities of Japan today [...] are contained within dominant discourses on cultural purity [...], and in nostalgic appeals to premodernity: what makes the Japanese so different from everyone else makes them identical to each other; what threatens that self-sameness is often marked temporarily as the intrusively modern, spatially as the foreign' (Ivy, 1995, p. 9).

Although Ivy (1995, p. 2) points out that 'dominant discourses on the "Japanese"' are represented through *Nihonjinron*, she only gives it a cursory mention. She explains that the image of *natsukashii* was typically represented in 1970s and 1980s Japan in advertisements, books and traditional Japanese *wa* culture such as *kabuki* (traditional Japanese theatre). In order to evoke this feeling of *natsukashii* the image of an 'exotic' Japan was depicted (Ivy, 1995). However, such exoticness only seemed to be aimed at the adult Japanese population. As the *anime* *Doraemon* and *Chibi Maruko-Chan* are both set in 1970s Japan and appear on a relatively contemporary media platform, they would seem to be an attempt to 'nurture a younger generation not as easily contained within the bounds of the classic metanarrative of nostalgia' (Ivy, 1995, p. 65).

The dependency on the use of *natsukashii* (nostalgia) by dominant ideologies in Japan (Ivy, 1995), is by no means unique. In times of recession television programmes aired on British television also draw upon nostalgia as a means of satisfying the yearning for comfort (Raeside, 2013). This would also seem to be recognised by the cool Japan campaign as its aim is to present the culture of Japan as 'a story' outside Japan (METI, 2011), which involves elements of nostalgia through the use of traditional Japanese *wa* culture.

However, as previously stated it could be said that when first released these two *anime* seemingly tried to challenge the dominant norms of society but as this was attempted through appeals to nostalgia they would also seem to be reifying Japan as uni-racial. I will tentatively attempt to explain this idea through Stuart Hall's analysis of popular culture in a UK context in the 1970s and 1980s. It is through cultural studies that Hall places popular culture at the forefront of his cultural analysis. He believes that it is important to pay attention to 'popular culture' because it is through

popular culture that the 'popular classes' try to resist the power of the dominant social forces within society (Hall, 1998, p. 442). However, he emphasises that, 'there is no whole, authentic, autonomous 'popular culture' which lies outside the field of force of the relations of cultural power and domination' (Hall, 1998, p. 447). Although the producers of Japanese *anime* were considered to be non-conformist (Kinsella, 1995; Lam, 2007), *anime* are nevertheless imbued with state sanctioned traditional Japaneseness. This could be because as Clarke *et al.* explain:

[a] sub-culture, though differing in important ways – in its 'focal concerns', its peculiar shapes and activities – from the culture from which it derives, will also share the same things in common with that 'parent' culture. [...] Subcultures must exhibit a distinctive enough shape and structure to make them identifiably different from their 'parent' culture. They must be focussed around certain activities, values, certain uses of material artefacts, territorial spaces etc. which significantly differentiate them from the wider culture. But, since they are sub-sets, there must be significant things which bind and articulate them with the 'parent culture' (Clarke, *et al.* p. 13-14).

What is more,

[t]he structures and meanings which most adequately reflect the position and interests of the most powerful class- however complex it is internally – will stand, in relation to all the others, as a *dominant* socio-cultural order. The dominant culture represents itself as *the culture*. It tries to define and contain all other cultures within its inclusive range [...] (*ibid.*, p. 12)

It is through the representation of the traditional juxtaposed onto a relatively contemporary media platform that the ideological narrative of uni-raciality can be widely circulated in Japan. This could also help to explain Sugimoto's notion of 'postmodern *Nihonjinron*' whereby traditional *wa* culture has been re-presented alongside contemporary Japanese culture and Albert's use of a Japanese Game Boy to help him to learn traditional *waka* poems (see chapter 5). Smith (1989, p. 722) would seem to concur with this when discussing culture in Japan as he points out,

[i]n the study of Japan, we shall ever be confounded unless we see that in every tradition and in every item in the cultural inventory of the moment there will be something old and something new. So it is for any society, any culture, any tradition. [...] We must also see that it is a mistake to deny the existence and power of these cultural elements that persist over long periods--as some demonstrably do--and thus offer evidence for a degree of continuity, for it is that they are reflected in the ability of new communities to assume familiar forms and marginal groups to develop organizational styles emblematic to the core institutions of the very society they seek to destroy. [...] our anchor never was time, for we were wrong to think that culture is either immutable or chimerical and that tradition is limited to beliefs and practices of long standing. We were equally wrong to think that contemporary institutions are either legacies from the past or innovative ruptures with it. Rather, they are the current moment through which past is linked to present and present to future. How they are linked, and by what forces, are the central questions of cultural analysis.

I believe that it is through the juxtaposition of the traditional on a contemporary media platform that ideologies associated with uni-raciality can not only be widely circulated to insiders inside Japan but also to insiders including the A-Js outside Japan.

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that it is through the A-Js intense engagement with an aggregate of authentic Japanese artefacts and their associated *aisatsu* practices that gives them a relatively strong claim to Japanese insider status. It is this relative insider status of the A-Js that would seem to disrupt widely circulating ideologies. I have also demonstrated that it is through this

repeated engagement with traditional Japaneseness since birth that they have been inculcated with *Nihonjinron*-type messages within which standardised notions of 'race', ethnicity, language and culture are reproduced, constructed and reified. It is through the pervasive *anime* characters of *Doraemon* and *Chibi Maruko-Chan*, which are particularly appealing to children, that essentialist ideologies do not only surreptitiously filter into the everyday lives of the Japanese young people inside Japan but also into the everyday lives of the A-Js outside Japan. This suggests that the A-Js have been inculcated with similar ideological messages to those received by young people permanently resident in Japan. This view would seem to be supported by Yukiko (A-J1 female, aged 16) who emphasised:

I kind of like had um loads of Japanese culture around me as I was growing up like um my Japanese family sort of sent over Japanese videos so um I watched Japanese cartoons as I was growing up [...] just like Pokémon [...] *Doraemon* [...] *Anpanman* [...] *Chibi Maruko-Chan* [...] *Crayon Shin-Chan* [...] *Okasan to Issho* [watch with mother] so basically [I watched] everything like that little Japanese children would have watched (interview, 21.04.2011)

This inculcation of traditional Japanese culture through a relatively contemporary medium complements the *aisatsu practices* with which the A-Js have been inculcated at *Hoshūkō*, in the Japanese home and in the wider Japanese community. Such an intense engagement with authentic Japanese insider culture by relative outsiders outside Japan could not be further from the minds of those who espouse *Nihonjinron*-type rhetoric.

Chapter 8 Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is threefold. First of all, I will present an overview of my thesis by clarifying the main arguments in each chapter. Then, I will clearly demonstrate how my thesis has added to the existing literature in a British arena on (1) mixed-ethnicities, (2) new ethnicities, (3) approaches to researching ethnicity, (4) Japaneseness, and (5) complementary schools. Finally, I will argue that the relatively exclusive ethnic category Japanese needs to be made more inclusive in twenty-first century Japan to accommodate my Anglo-Japanese (A-J) formation.

8.2 Research claims

In chapter 1 I spent a significant amount of time examining *Nihonjinron* as a theorisation of the Japanese. I analysed its ethnic and racial components in relation to the A-J young people in Britain because the notion of 'race' would seem to underpin widely circulating ideologies in Japan. I found that the *Nihonjinron* theorisation has a strong biological component which purports that to be Japanese it is necessary to have 'pure' Japanese blood. There is an underlying belief that only those with 'pure' Japanese blood can acquire the unique Japanese culture and language; meaning that a strong 'race' equals culture equals language equation exists in Japan.

I made a link between the essentialising biological element inherent in this theorisation and wider developments in the study of the literature elsewhere, for example, Stuart Hall's (1988) new ethnicities paradigm which viewed ethnicity as a more open and fluid category. I decided to use the pluralised term ethnicities to refer to the language and cultural practices with which my informants engage rather than using the singular term ethnicity. This is because the singular term is often conflated with the racial idiom which is unhelpful with the conceptualisation of the A-Js due to their mixedness. I decided to use the term mixed-ethnicities instead of 'mixed-race' in my thesis to further distance my study from the racial idiom after investigating the notion of 'mixed-race'. I found that in Britain and America much of the focus has been on black/white mixing which was construed in a negative light. In the American and Japanese arena a notion of 'Anglo-Japanese' exists but again it has been construed negatively. I found that in Britain the category of Anglo-Japanese young people had been under researched by academics with only a brief mention of the A-J categorisation by Aspinall and Song (2013, p. 14) in terms of young adults

aged between 18 and 25, within a much broader category 'East or SE Asian/White (e.g. Chinese, Filipino/a, Japanese, Myanmarese)'. This is in contrast to my research which focused on Anglo-Japanese young people aged between 12 and 18 within a much narrower category of Japanese. Such a narrow categorisation allowed me to uncover the subtle variabilities within the notion of Japanese, which I outlined in chapter 3.

In chapter 2 I made the case for the value of taking an ethnographic approach within a qualitative framework in order to shed light on what the notion of Anglo-Japanese might mean in line with Stuart Hall's new ethnicities paradigm (1988). I decided to take this particular approach because it was the best way of researching ethnicity as an open and fluid category. This approach enabled me to uncover the A-J category through observation, participation, field notes, interviews, questionnaires, as well as photographs and a piece of written work produced by the informants. These methods allowed me to deepen the new ethnicities paradigm by studying the self-representations of the language and cultural practices with which the A-Js engage. All these methods are a way of understanding what it might mean to be Anglo-Japanese by opening up the category compared to the narrowness of the homogenous *Nihonjinron* type of study in which there is a strong emphasis on the racialisation of ethnicity.

In chapter 3 I gave direct evidence for the existence of an ethnic category which I have called Anglo-Japanese. I did this by reviewing how I had participated in over 25 years of this ethnic formation by a focus on how I managed this category in relation to my two sons. This analysis showed the engagement they had had with authentic Japanese language, literacy and cultural practices both inside and outside *Hoshūkō* but at the same time it highlighted their ambivalent ethnic affiliations.

In the second half of Chapter 3 I outlined the complexities of Japanese ethnicities at *Hoshūkō*. Although according to the ideological narrative of *Nihonjinron* a binary notion of 'pure' versus 'impure Japanese' exists, I discovered that at *Hoshūkō* the notion of Japanese was far more nuanced than this essentialist binarised ideology purports. I uncovered three main categorisations: (1) Japanese of Mixed-Ethnicities (JM-E), (2) Japanese-Japanese (J-J), and (3) Non-Japanese (N-J). I further sub-divided the first two categorisations based on (1) Japanese language proficiency (A-J1 and A-J2), the ability to pass as Japanese (M-J1 and M-J2), and (2) length of stay in Britain (SJ-J and BBJ-J). These subtle positionings, which were brought about

by my empirical observations, allowed me to conduct a finer tuned analysis of my data than would have been the case had I used the *Nihonjinron*-style binaries of which suggest 'pure' Japanese, versus 'impure' Japanese. I argued that the existence of the A-Js and the other nuanced Japanese ethnicities pose a serious challenge to the *Nihonjinron* notion of 'pure' Japanese.

Before looking at the A-Js direct engagement with Japaneseness, in chapter 4 I argued that racialised notions play a major role in the construction of Japaneseness by the people the A-Js encounter both in Britain and Japan. In Britain, the common assumption for some of the A-Js is Chinese as the notion of Japaneseness lies outside the imagination of those with whom they come into contact. The facileness of the idiom of 'race' is explicitly highlighted when they travel to Japan. Due to the strong 'race' equals language equals culture equation which exists in Japan, the A-Js in my research meet incredulity amongst strangers when they seemingly effortlessly use Japanese as a medium of communication. When judging by appearances alone, outsider status is the default setting due to their ambiguous physical features, whereas when the A-Js routinely communicate in Japanese a notion of insider status is triggered. This is highly confusing for those who try to apply racialised notions of Japaneseness to the Anglo-Japanese.

In order to broaden this analysis in chapters 5, 6, and 7, I went beyond my two sons to a wider group of people who are included in the A-J category. In chapters 5 and 6 I focused on *Hoshūkō*. In chapter 5 I focused on the language, literacy and cultural practices with which the A-Js engage. I demonstrated that at *Hoshūkō*, while trying to mimic compulsory state education in Japan, there is a strong focus on learning standard Japanese language and literacy practices, including the complications involved in learning *kanji*. This is because the acquisition of *kanji* is perceived to be an integral part of the way in which people come to be marked as being Japanese. In an attempt to understand the A-Js in a more nuanced way, building on the insights I established in chapter 3, I researched the wider grouping of Japanese people to show how they engaged with Japanese language and literacy practices. This is because the dominant ideology in Japan suggests that only those who are racially 'pure' Japanese can master the complexities of the Japanese language. Accordingly, a special curriculum (*nihongo*) exists for the Non-Japanese in Japan and for the Anglo-Japanese in one of the London *Hoshūkō*, which would seem to inadvertently exclude them from acquiring Japanese insider status. However, I have shown that a significant number of the A-J1s at *Hoshūkō* are able to manage the practices involved in the participation of the Japanese national curriculum (*kokugo*), which was originally intended for the 'pure' Japanese

who will return to live in Japan. I have also shown that some British Based Japanese-Japanese have difficulty coping with such a curriculum, which destabilises the dominant ideology that 'race' equates with language. I have demonstrated that the racial idiom cannot be applied to the Anglo-Japanese in a Japan-based educational context in super-diverse London (Vertovec, 2007).

In Chapter 6 I demonstrated that the A-Js are inculcated with a range of institutionalised regulatory practices at *Hoshūkō*. This is because in Japanese mainstream schooling performing institutionalised *aisatsu* practices correctly is just as important as developing literacy skills. I have shown how these practices are integral to *Hoshūkō* as they have been routinised and are performed in the classroom and during classroom observations by parents, during the graduation ceremony and sports day. *Aisatsu* have a linguistic, cultural and/or bodily element and those who are unaware of such practices are marked as foreign in Japan. I identified that such practices, together with the relative difficulty of acquiring *kanji* literacy, could be seen as exclusionary to those who cannot follow the Japanese national curriculum. I have, nevertheless, demonstrated how the A-Js have participated in such practices over a long period of time which further complicates widely circulating ideologies in Japan.

In Chapter 7 I went beyond *Hoshūkō* to demonstrate how the A-Js have been engaging with a dense network of traditional Japanese artefacts and regulatory practices through various socialising channels including the home, the school and the wider community in Japan. I emphasised how the A-Js have been engaging with authentic Japanese artefacts as opposed to their rather anglicised counterparts. I demonstrated how all these traditional Japanese artefacts and practices are mirrored on a relatively contemporary media platform through the storylines of two long-running Japanese *anime* (cartoons) *Doraemon* and *Chibi Maruko-Chan*. This suggests that similar to Japanese children in Japan the A-Js are inculcated with relative conformist practices as well as with the narrative of uni-raciality. I argue that as a result of the A-Js active and intense engagement with an aggregation of authentic Japanese artefacts and cultural practices since birth they cannot be separated from Japanese insider status by essentialist racial ideologies.

Drawing on the overview of my thesis, I outline my contribution to knowledge by highlighting my claims to originality.

8.3 Contribution to knowledge

In this section I will demonstrate how my research is contributing to knowledge through my claims to originality concerning the literature on: (1) mixed-ethnicities, (2) new ethnicities, (3) approaches to researching ethnicity, (4) Japaneseness, and (5) complementary schools.

8.3.1 Mixed-ethnicities

My thesis claims originality in relation to the literature on mixed-ethnicities as I am adding a new yet emerging categorisation of Anglo-Japanese which has received little previous attention in the UK context. In my thesis I have given substantial evidence of the existence of such a categorisation. I have also explained in great detail the nuances that exist within such a grouping rather than simply presenting it as a monolithic block. I have shown what it means to be Anglo-Japanese, and living permanently in Britain while at the same time having strong links with Japan-centred traditional artefacts and practices. This has been achieved by: (1) a practices and participation approach to ethnicity, (2) informal observations of my two sons over a 25-year period, (3) and my ethnographically informed fieldwork both inside and outside *Hoshūkō*,

Previously, research in Britain focused on the black/white mix (for example Tizard and Phoenix, 2002; Ifegwunigwe, 1999; Ollumide, 2002) so much so that it would seem to be synonymous with the notion of 'mixed race' in a British arena. Although Parker and Song (2001) tried to open up the debate by focusing on other mixes, much of the research was USA rather than British based. I argue that the literature on mixedness in the UK needs to focus on mixed categories other than black and white, as such categories are becoming ever more complex in twenty-first century super-diverse (Vertovec, 2007) London and South East England. Admittedly, Aspinall and Song (2013, p. 14) focused on a variety of mixes in a British context; Black/White, South Asian/White, East or SE Asian/White, 'minority mixed', Arab/White and other mixes. However, I believe that the focus of their analysis was so broad that no one mixed categorisation received sufficient attention resulting in only a partial understanding of any one particular categorisation. I feel that as a result of my in-depth study of a narrow ethnic categorisation, Anglo-Japanese, which is part of the wider categorisation Japanese, I have given this relatively new mixed categorisation sufficient attention. Accordingly, I have provided sufficient detailed information to give meaning to what the category Anglo-Japanese might encompass in twenty-first century Britain and Japan, as well as showing the nuances which exist within the category Japanese in London and South East England. I am

proposing that research on mixed-ethnicities needs to be more focused in order to obtain a better understanding of the nuances that exist within a single categorisation.

Through this emphasis on the black/white mix in UK based research into 'mixed-race', it has tended to have a problematic tone to it because there has been a strong suggestion that people of this mix are somehow caught between two cultures (see Stonequist, 1937). As a reaction to this, more recently a celebratory tone has been adopted by the media in the USA (and Britain) regarding mixedness (see Parker and Song, 2001, p. 4).

However, the A-Js I researched in London and South East England seemed to be neither problematic nor euphoric. In spite of not being recognised as belonging to the hegemonic majority grouping in either Britain or Japan they appear to be in no way disadvantaged. They are extremely high achievers, meaning they can cope to some extent with the extra workload from *Hoshūkō*. In addition, they seem to have been inculcated with British middle class values of doing well at school and participating in many extracurricular activities, such as music, dance and sport. I argue that although the A-Js are just one of a number of groupings of young people of varying mixed ethnicities living in London and South East England, they cannot be considered to be 'post-race' (Ali, 2003) as they still have to negotiate racialised assumptions both in Britain and Japan.

I feel that in twenty-first century London, the negativity surrounding mixedness is becoming weakened by mixes such as Anglo-Japanese, as in the words of my older son 'no one knows what the hell' he is, so the application of the racial idiom becomes more problematic. The facileness of the racial idiom is becoming more evident and as a result less denigrating at least among the peers of my sons in a contemporary London context. My younger son has a strong affiliation with the 'mixed' side of his ancestry, and such an affiliation would seem to be 'cooler' among his peers than conventional Britishness. His skin colouring and racialised features can sometimes even pass him as a black/white mix which would seem to elevate his street credibility even further.

In this thesis I have concentrated on Anglo-Japanese young people in London and South East England, but I believe that much more work could be done to expand this research. For example, further research could be conducted on the other Japanese ethnic groupings I outlined in chapter 3 such as the Mixed-Japanese (M-J) who have one Japanese parent and one parent from a different ethnic grouping and the Non-Japanese (N-J) who do not have a Japanese parent but

nevertheless have a strong claim to Japanese insider status. Although I have added Anglo-Japanese to the research on mixed-ethnicities there are also many more mixed categories to be researched. Through my direct experience of the networks of my two sons these include: Iranian-Greek, Mexican-Greek, Anglo-Malaysian, Indian-Srilankan, Spanish-Indian, Anglo-Mauritian, and Anglo-Chinese to name but a few. All of these categories are examples of new ethnicities.

8.3.2 New ethnicities

I feel I have made a contribution to the new ethnicities literature in the UK by focusing on this new category which I have chosen to call Anglo-Japanese. However, in so doing I may have inadvertently misled the reader into believing that the Japanese side of the A-Js' ancestry has completely overshadowed their British side by offering what could be viewed as a rather one-sided account of their Japaneseness while overlooking their Britishness. However, in reality their ethnicities are a complex mix from so-called British, Japanese and other ethnic influences with which they may have come into contact. This also means that at any one point in time one of these ethnicities could be more important than the other ones. For example, when the A-Js were younger, their Japanese side was highly prominent, but as they approach adolescence and adulthood I fully recognise that alongside their strong notion of Japaneseness there is also an even stronger sense of Britishness²⁰⁰ which is exemplified in language use and affiliations with cultural practices.

My two sons, Richard and Timothy, epitomise the new ethnicities paradigm. In spite of the negativity they encountered from a small number of teachers regarding their racial mix, they, like the other research participants, are high achievers in their chosen fields whether academic or sporting. I believe this is partly due to the grit and determination they acquired from their association with Japanese language, literacy and cultural practices at *Hoshūkō*.

My older son, Timothy, is a structural engineer, after having obtained a degree at Imperial College, London, he also studies advanced Japanese language and literacy at SOAS, University of London, in the evening. Some might argue that because he (as are the other A-Js) is from a group of relatively high achievers, they might fit the well established stereotype of a high achieving Chinese/Japanese young person as a geeky nerdy male who focuses so much time studying that he becomes socially isolated (Li, 2012). However, my work, in line with a new

²⁰⁰ Although Japaneseness was the focus of my research, through my integrated and open research methods, I was also able to ascertain information about their Britishness.

ethnicities approach, has shown that many of my research informants including my two sons are not like this. They are high achievers at school, but they engage equally with popular culture and sport.

Timothy used to play tennis, a sport associated with middle class Britishness, but now plays basketball, a sport traditionally associated with working class African Americans. Having studied mainly classical music at school he recently returned from an electronic dance music festival in Croatia along with his friends of Nigerian, Anglo-Malaysian, Malaysian, Anglo-Indonesian, and Indian descent. My younger son, Richard, is a full-time footballer, a traditionally working class sport in Britain associated with low academic achievers. At the same time, he is studying advanced mathematics and BTEC Level 3 Extended Diploma in Sport²⁰¹, a qualification which is considered to be for 'low' achievers. Both my sons continue to watch authentic Japanese *anime* alongside a great many more popular American programmes such as the legal drama 'Suits'. Both my sons regularly travel to Japan where they can effortlessly switch into 'seemingly authentic' Japanese which suggests that their learning is not tied to *Hoshūkō* but is an ongoing engagement.

Albert (A-J1 male, aged 14) and Yukiko (A-J1 female, aged 16) also fit the new ethnicities paradigm. Albert is working hard to become a surgeon. The GCSEs he is studying include: French, Latin, ancient history, history, triple science (biology, physics and chemistry), further maths, music and English language and literature. At the same time, he likes listening to a variety of music genres including 'rock' (My Chemical Romance²⁰²), 'rap' (Jay-Z²⁰³, Kanye West²⁰⁴ and JME²⁰⁵) and 'techno and dance music' in preference to J-Pop²⁰⁶ (interview 25.06.2011). He also performs classical music, clarinet and piano in school orchestras. He has read English novels, such as *Beau Geste*, although he prefers to read authentic Japanese *manga* and the European comic *TinTin*. He plays two traditionally middle class sports: rugby for the borough of Cambridge and tennis, as well as baseball, a sport associated with America but also widely practised in Japan. Yukiko is currently studying for AS chemistry, biology, maths, history and Japanese. She

²⁰¹ This is a requirement of League Football Education. It is a post 16 qualification which is equivalent to three A Levels. It is based on internally assessed coursework which suggests it easier than taking individual A (Advanced) Levels as there are no external exams as there are for A Levels.

²⁰² My chemical Romance is an American rock band.

²⁰³ Jay-Z is regarded as a pioneer of hip hop and one of the most successful African American artists of this music genre.

²⁰⁴ Kanye West is another highly successful African American rapper who highlights issues, such as present day racism in America and black history relating to slavery, in his lyrics. He also draws upon African American vernacular speech.

²⁰⁵ JME is from Hackney, England and he has Nigerian roots. In his lyrics he tries to displace stereotypes that are commonly applied to rappers.

²⁰⁶ J-Pop stands for Japanese Pop music.

took GCSE Japanese at the age of 12 and she obtained an A star. She obtained grade 7 for the violin and grade 8 for the piano. She also likes watching 'Glee'²⁰⁷, Desperate Housewives²⁰⁸, the Inbetweeners²⁰⁹, Friday Night Dinner²¹⁰, alongside the authentic Japanese drama '*Hotaru no Hikari*'²¹¹ (glow of the fireflies) with her Japanese-Japanese mother (interview 21.04.2011). This strong engagement with popular culture suggests that although the A-Js in my research are conventionally high achievers they are not 'boffins' in the conventional sense of the word. What is more alongside this Britishness they have undertaken a disciplined approach to learning Japanese language and literacy practices and they deeply engage with traditional Japanese practices and authentic Japanese popular culture.

I feel that in light of my research, the notion of new ethnicities needs to be redefined to incorporate mixedness in terms of the A-Js who are not black or brown in the traditional sense and they are not the result of post colonialism. If this were achieved, the racial idiom, which still underpins the notion of ethnicity in academic circles, would be further weakened.

8.3.3 Approaches to researching ethnicity

Through adopting an anti-essentialist cultural studies approach with a specific focus on the new ethnicities paradigm and translation, I have adopted a participation and practices approach to ethnicity. This approach has enabled me to approach the study of ethnicity with more specificity than previous UK studies have done. As a result of this, I have shown how some racially ambiguous young people have strong affiliations with Japaneseness although they are living in Britain. For them, their Japaneseness becomes somewhat low-key as they reach adolescence and adulthood. They attend mainstream schooling and participate in a range of ethnically marked practices which have little to do with Japan. However, lurking in the background of this Britishness is this strong sense of Japaneseness which comes about not from looking racially Japanese and having two Japanese parents but from having participated since birth in a dense network of language, literacy and cultural practices in various settings in both Britain and Japan. This suggests that the focus of further research needs to be on what people do rather than what they look like.

²⁰⁷ This is an American musical comedy drama.

²⁰⁸ This is an American television comedy drama.

²⁰⁹ This is a British situational comedy based on the exploits of teenagers attending a comprehensive school.

²¹⁰ This is a British television situational comedy based on family life.

²¹¹ This is a Japanese *manga* series which has been adapted to a television drama.

By offering thick description of how ordinary low key ethnicities are inculcated and enacted on a daily basis in a range of settings, I have uncovered the complexity of the many practices and objects that are attached to Japanese ethnicities²¹². I am claiming that it is through the engagement with these traditional artefacts and practices that the A-Js are able to hold on to a notion of Japaneseness that other ethnic groups who have been researched in a UK context do not seem able to do. This is because other ethnic groups do not appear to engage with the same quantity, intensity and depth of artefacts and practices. It is this quantity, intensity and depth since birth that I am claiming constitutes ethnicity. I believe that any notion of Japaneseness inevitably involves a strong participation in and engagement with a dense network of artefacts and practices in various locations.

I have uncovered the intricate ways in which ethnicities are enacted which would seem to be in stark contrast to how ethnicity has been researched in the past in the UK. Studies of ethnicity among young people in the UK have tended to treat ethnicity as an attribute or a given, something inherent to them without interrogating the specifics of how their ethnicity is acquired. I believe that the study of ethnicity should be more specific and it should embrace the engagement with objects and practices in order to fully understand how ethnicities are inculcated and enacted in twenty-first century Britain. I am, therefore, arguing that there needs to be a renewed emphasis on the precise and long term routine engagement with artefacts and practices in various locations to understand how ethnicities are enacted.

8.3.4 Japaneseness

I feel it is through researching Japaneseness from an anti-essentialist cultural studies perspective, that I have uncovered not only the sites, for example, the school, home and wider Japanese community, where the ideological narrative of uni-raciality is represented but also the tools, for example school textbooks, artefacts and *anime*, involved. Such a narrative would seem to have inadvertently misrepresented reality in twenty-first century Japan rather than reflect it. This is because I have uncovered that the 'pure' Japanese have been over represented and the 'impure' Japanese remain virtually invisible. What is more, a rather essentialist image of Japaneseness has been constructed.

²¹² Those mentioned in my thesis only scratch the surface of a more extensive network of practices.

This representation of the Japanese subject would seem to be the reverse of Stuart Hall's (1988) new ethnicities paradigm. This is because Hall was discussing the representation of the essentialist black subject in 1980s Britain whereas in this thesis I have discussed the representation of the hegemonic essentialist Japanese subject from 1989 to 2015. This would seem to be similar to what Stuart Hall (1996, p. 443) refers to as 'the end of innocence' or the end of the innocent notion of the essential [Japanese]²¹³ subject'. I, like Stuart Hall, call for the end of the highly essentialist Japanese subject position because it:

is essentially a politically and culturally constructed category, which cannot be grounded in a set of fixed trans-cultural or transcendental racial categories and which therefore has no guarantees in nature's constructed category (Hall, 1996, p. 443).

In an attempt to recognise some of the diversity of the Japanese subject positions, I have uncovered various categories of Japaneseness that exist in London and South East England, within which the A-Js can be accommodated (see chapter 3). This is important because the A-Js are a group of young people who are not based in Japan and who do not have two racially Japanese parents but, who by quietly and unassumingly going about their daily lives, exert a strong claim to Japanese insider status in the way I have demonstrated in my thesis. In other words, I believe that my work has contributed to the broadening of the conceptualisation of what Japaneseness might mean in the twenty-first century.

8.3.5 Complementary schools

I am making a small but significant claim to the UK research into complementary schools. My claim to distinctiveness is that I am offering an integrated approach into research on complementary schools. This approach has enabled me to narrow the group of people under discussion but at the same time open up the practices in which they have been engaging since birth. By focusing on both *emic* and *etic* theorisations, I have offered thick description of not only Japanese language and literacy practices but also regulatory practices at the London *Hoshūkō* while at the same time linking this to compulsory state education in Japan, because this is what *Hoshūkō* tries to replicate. This approach has helped me to fully understand why *Hoshūkō* takes the approach it does to language, literacy and cultural practices even in a contemporary London context (see Chapter 5) (cf. Blackledge and Creese, 2010).

The UK based complementary schools' literature, in particular that relating to Chinese complementary schools, has tended to concentrate on set-piece institutional practices mainly

²¹³ I have replaced black with Japanese

within the complementary school, to such an extent that it has overlooked the practices with which the informants also engage outside the complementary school. Similar to *Hoshūkō* Chinese complementary schools do not exist in a vacuum. They are ideologically linked to the wider Chinese community in both Britain and say, for example, mainland China and/or Hong Kong. The complementary schools' literature touches upon these language and cultural practices within the school environment, but it fails to look at supporting language and cultural practise outside the school. This is evidenced by Li Wei and Wu (2010, p. 43) who remark, '[o]n an everyday basis, we see the pupils listening to Chinese pop songs, reading Chinese comics and youth magazines and playing various card and computer games'. Unfortunately, they take this observation no further.

In addition, Francis *et al.* (2010, p. 92) mention that pupils at Chinese complementary schools apply their linguistic skills to access popular culture and to facilitate intergenerational communication especially when travelling to Hong Kong to visit relatives. Unfortunately, again these observations are not sufficiently expanded upon. This means that the link between the complementary school and the wider community cannot be sufficiently explained. Therefore, I feel that a narrower and more focused analysis of any one complementary school is needed by combining both *emic* and *etic* theorisations. This would reduce the rather 'broad brush approach' that has been adopted by researchers in the UK to date and it would buck the trend to jump to conclusions based purely upon Western theorisations (see Blackledge and Creese, 2010). Such an analysis is needed to increase our understanding of what is at stake in complementary schools in twenty-first century super-diverse London (Vertovec, 2007).

8.4 Concluding remarks

In this thesis I have made the case that a new and under researched ethnic formation exists which I have chosen to call Anglo-Japanese. I have shown that they present a challenge to biological and racial ideologies which exist in Japan. I have argued that essentialist approaches to ethnicity and language practices are a deeply flawed and inadequate way of understanding the workings of language and ethnicity in contemporary life in London and South East England.

As a result of this thesis I feel that I have answered the question which I briefly mentioned in the introduction: why should my elder son need a Japanese passport as proof of his Japaneseness? I feel the answer lies within his implicit inculcation with the ideological narrative of uni-raciality.

Although his engagement with authentic Japaneseness has given him a sense of Japanese insider status, it has at the same time made him feel like an outsider. The same is also true for all my other research participants be they Japanese of Mixed-Ethnicities, Japanese-Japanese, and Non-Japanese. Even though racially speaking some are more Japanese than others, they are all living in London and the South East of England and are all negotiating with a range of ethnic positionings on a daily basis. This goes against the grain of the *Nihonjinron* ideology that to be Japanese you not only have to be racially 'pure' Japanese but also living permanently in Japan and engaging with authentic Japanese language and cultural practices.

I would like to close with a final example of how the A-J category in particular still troubles and disturbs essentialist categorisations of the Japanese. In 2013 my older son visited central Tokyo with his then Hong Kong Chinese girlfriend. People they encountered wrongly assumed that just because his girlfriend looked Oriental she could speak Japanese. Additionally because my son does not look Oriental the assumption was that he could not speak Japanese whereas the opposite was true. This highlights how biological notions of Japaneseness, strongly linked to physical appearance and a particular nation state, break down when confronted with Anglo-Japanese young people and their ambiguous physical appearance, who nevertheless can engage with authentic Japanese artefacts, and language and cultural practices. This is a clear illustration of why I am advocating that the meaning of Japanese ethnicity needs to be redefined in twenty-first century Japan.

Appendix A. Research participants (females)

Name(s) ²¹⁴	Age	Ethnic categorisation	Place of residence	Observed at <i>Hoshūkō</i>	Research tasks completed
Eleanor Sylvie Hall-Kawazu Yui Kawazu ²¹⁵	12	Anglo-Japanese (A-J1)	Cambridge	No	Questionnaire, photos, photo-essay, interview
Andrea Nemuko Green Nemuko Nakashima	12	Anglo-Japanese (A-J1)	Cambridge	No	Questionnaire, photo-essay, Interview
Naomi King Naomi Kobayashi	13	Anglo-Japanese (A-J1)	Cambridge	No	Questionnaire, interview
Nicky King Nikki Koboyashi	16	Anglo-Japanese (A-J1)	Cambridge	Yes	Questionnaire, photo-essay, interview
Yukiko Dale Yukiko Shimisu	16	Anglo-Japanese (A-J1)	London	No	Questionnaire, interview
Masako Sato-Knight	16	Anglo-Japanese (A-J1)	London	No	Questionnaire, interview
Hana Gao	18	Mixed-Japanese (M-J1)	London	N/A	Questionnaire, pictures, written account, interview

²¹⁴ All the names are pseudonyms, however, I have tried to replace like for like. For example, if a person has a Japanese surname I have replaced it with an alternative Japanese surname.

²¹⁵ I have highlighted the A-J1s.

Appendix B. Research participants (males)

Name(s)	Age	Ethnic categorisation	Place of residence	Observed at <i>Hoshūkō</i>	Research tasks completed
Kinjio Morita-Peters	12	Anglo-Japanese (A-J1)	London	N/A	Questionnaire, interview
Taka Sugita	13	British-Based Japanese-Japanese (BBJ-J)	London	In the playground and parent observation	Questionnaire, photos, written account, interview
Albert Yumita Green Yumita Nakashima	14	Anglo-Japanese (A-J1)	Cambridge	Yes	Questionnaire, written account, photos, interview
Sho Sugita	15	British-Based Japanese-Japanese (BBJ-J)	London	Yes	Questionnaire, written account, interview
Dan John Tanaka	15	Anglo-Japanese (A-J2)	London	N/A	Questionnaire, interview
Taishi Murata	16	British-Based Japanese-Japanese (BBJ-J)	London	Yes	Questionnaire, interview
Carl Satoru Helman Satoru Fujisawa	18	Anglo-Japanese (A-J1)	London	Yes	Questionnaire, interview

Appendix C. Interviews with parents

Name	Type of family	Date	Length
Yuri (Albert and Andrea's mother)	Anglo-Japanese	11.06.2010	3:40:49
Sawako (Rodger's mother)	Anglo-Japanese	12.06.2010	4:10:13
Michiko (Taka and Sho's mother)	Japanese- Japanese	30.09.2010	1:19:01
Maeko	Sojourner Japanese- Japanese	01.10.2010	2:04:22
Bill	Anglo-Japanese	11.12.2010	1:13:36
Tim (Sawako's husband)	Anglo-Japanese	16.05.2011	0:48:25

Appendix D. Interviews with teachers

Name	Class	Date	Length
Takashi	Year 5 primary school	14.06.2010	3:50:55
Masako	Year 1 senior school	06.11.2010	1:05:48
Kenta	Year 3 primary school	11.1.2010	1:15:15
Mika	Year 2 senior school	12.12.2010	1:54:03
Aki	Year 1 <i>nihongo</i> ²¹⁶	21.12.2010	1:27:50

Appendix E. Classroom observations at Figsbury *Hoshūkō*

Teacher	Class	Date	Length
Mika	Year 2 middle school	13.02.2010	2:45
Mika	Year 2 middle school	27.02.2010	2:45
Kaori	Year 3 middle school	01.10.2010	1:15
Mika	Year 1 middle school	30.10.2010	2:45
Mika	Year 1 middle school	27.11.2010	2:45
Kaori	Year 3 middle school	11.12.2010	1:00

²¹⁶ Japanese as an Additional Language

Appendix F. Parent observations at Figsbury *Hoshūkō*

Teacher	Class	Date	Length
Yumiko	Year 6 primary school	20.06.2009	1:00
Yumiko	Year 6 primary school	29.09.2009	1:00
Hiro	Year 1 middle school	06.06.2010	1:00
Hiro	Year 1 middle school	06.11.2010	1:00

Appendix G. Classroom observations at Appleton *Hoshūkō*

Teacher	Class	Date	Length
Takashi	Year 5 primary school	12.02.2011	2:30
Takashi	Year 5 primary school	19.02.2011	1:00
Kimiko	Year 7 <i>nihongo</i> ²¹⁷	19.02.2011	1:45
Mika	Year 2 senior school	05.03.2011	2:45
Mana	Year 2 <i>nihongo</i>	12.03.2011	0:45

²¹⁷ Japanese as an Additional Language

Appendix H. A-J with Japanese Language Proficiency (A-J1)

Name(s)	Age	Country of birth	Mother's country of birth	Father's country of birth	Length of time in England
Aubrey Gladys Yukari Morgan	10	Japan	Japan	England	5 years
Jason Bowes	10	England	Japan	England	10 years
Catherine Masako Emily Armstrong	11	England	Japan	England	11 years
Brian Sato Carter	11	Japan	Japan	England	5 years
Alison Richardson Kaori Hayata	11	England	Japan	England	11 years
Ayumi Murata ²¹⁸	11	Japan	Japan	England	6 years
Eleanor Sylvie Hall-Kawazu Yui Kawazu	12	France	Japan	England	10 years
Kinjio Morita- Peters	12	England	Japan	Australia ²¹⁹	12 years
Andrea Nemuko Green Nemuko Nakashima	12	Japan	Japan	England	11 years
Naomi King Naomi Kobayashi	13	Japan	Japan	England	13 years
Timothy Hisamu Carter Pierson	13	England	Japan	England	13 years
George Kenta Tatsuya	13	England	Japan	England	13 years
Albert Yumita Green Yumita Nakashima	14	Japan	Japan	England	10 years
Nicky King Nikki Koboyashi	16	Japan	Japan	England	14 years
Mari Catherine O'Donovan	15	America	Japan	America	13 years
Rodger	14	Japan	Japan	India ²²⁰	12 years

²¹⁸ Ayumi was brought up speaking only in Japanese at home.

²¹⁹ Although Kinjio's father was born in Australia, he is a white native English speaker who does not have an Australian accent. I know this because I have spoken to him on many occasions in my role as a parent.

Ryosuke Griffin					
Yukiko Dale Yukiko Shimisu	16	England	Japan	England	16 years
Mari Ingram	18	Scotland	Japan	Scotland	17 years
Natasha Yamaguchi Richardson	18	Japan	Japan	England	7 years
Carl Satoru Helman Satoru Fujisawa	18	England	Japan	England	18 years

²²⁰ As previously stated, although Rodger's father was born in India, he is a white native English speaker with an English accent. I know this as I interviewed him (interview 16.05.2011).

Appendix I. A-J with Limited Japanese Language Proficiency

(A-J2)

Name(s)	Age	Country of birth	Mother's country of birth	Father's country of birth	Length of time in England
Nigella Jane Nelson	13	England	Japan	England	13 years
Emma Kathryn Bywater	13	Japan	Japan	England	7 years
Mari April Tanaka Hollington	13	England	Japan	England	13 years
John Philips	14	England	Japan	Ireland	14 years
Anna Marley	14	England	Japan	England	14 years
Kathryn de John	13	London, England	Japan	England	13 years
Lucy Gibbons	14	England	Japan	England	14 years
Dan John Tanaka	15	England	Japan	England	15 years
Robert Kai Clarke	16	England	Japan	England	16 years
Albert Chris Shu Tsukasa Jackson	16	England	Japan	England	16 years
Simon Ken Powell	16	England	Japan	England	16 years
Olivia Takahashi Taylor	17	England	Japan	England	17 years

Appendix J. Mixed-Japanese (M-J)

Name(s)	Age	Country of birth	Mother's country of birth	Father's country of birth	Length of time in England
Sigourney Tanaka Shah	11	England	Japan	Kenya	11 years
Maria Franco	13	England	Japan	Italy	13 years
Alison Ayako Silver	13	England	Japan	Germany	13 years
Sarah Thornton ²²¹ Nora	13	England	Japan	England	13 years ²²²
Amy Angela Kawai	15	Japan	Srilanka	Japan	7 years
Nigel Martin	16	England	Japan	Nigeria	16 years
Mari Hayakawa Peng	18	England	Japan	Hong Kong	18 years
Hana Gao	19	England	Japan	Hong Kong	19 years

Appendix K. Sojourner Japanese-Japanese (SJ-J)

Name(s)	Age	Country of birth	Mother's country of birth	Father's country of birth	Length of time in England
Tomoki Kawsaki	10	Japan	Japan	Japan	2 years
Hisato Fujimoto	11	Japan	Japan	Japan	6 months
Shintaro Tsuchi	11	Japan	Japan	Japan	2 years
Ryota Owada	11	Japan	Japan	Japan	1 year
Namiko Morita	13	Japan	Japan	Japan	5 ½ years
Maeko Mistumaki	14	Japan	Japan	Japan	8 years
Yuri Takara	15	Japan	Japan	Japan	2 years
Kenta Kenada	18	Japan	Japan	Japan	7 years

²²¹ Although Sarah's father was born in England he seems to be of Chinese origins as he speaks Chinese to her, her mother, brother and sister at home.

²²² I have highlighted the MJ1s.

Appendix L. British Based Japanese-Japanese (BBJ-J)

Name(s)	Age	Country of birth	Mother's country of birth	Father's country of birth	Length of time in England
Sumiko Christine Mashita	10	England	Japan	Japan	10 years
Miki Kimura	11	Japan	Japan	Japan	7 years
Taka Sugita	13	Japan	Japan	Japan	11 years
Sho Sugita	15	Japan	Japan	Japan	11 years
Ryoji Fujioka	15	Japan	Japan	Japan	8 years
Taichi Murata	16	Japan	Japan	Japan	14 years
Hana Osaki	17	United States	Japan	Japan	4 years
Jiro Sugawara	17	England	Japan	Japan	17 years
Maya Tanaka	18	Japan	Japan	Japan	15 years
Taishi Kinkawa	18	Japan	Japan	Japan	13 years
Isamu Walter Takahashi	18	America	Japan	Japan	15 years
Kaori Tagawa	18	England	Japan	Japan	9 years
Sayaka Yoshizawa	18	Japan	Japan	Japan	13 years
Linda Hama	18	England	Japan	Japan	18 years
Kenta Kanizawa	18	Japan	Japan	Japan	7 years
Sakiko Murakami	18	England	Japan	Japan	17 years
Satoru Mizumi	19	Japan	Japan	Japan	30 months

Appendix M. Non-Japanese (N-J)

Name(s)	Age	Country of birth	Mother's country of birth	Father's country of birth	Length of time in England
Martha Shakir	16	Sweden	Russia	Iraq	10 years

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